



A LETTER TO THE LORD BISHOP OF
LONDON, IN REPLY TO MR. PUSEY'S WORK
[AN HISTORICAL ENQUIRY INTO] THE
CAUSES OF RATIONALISM IN GERMANY

HUGH JAMES ROSE, EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY



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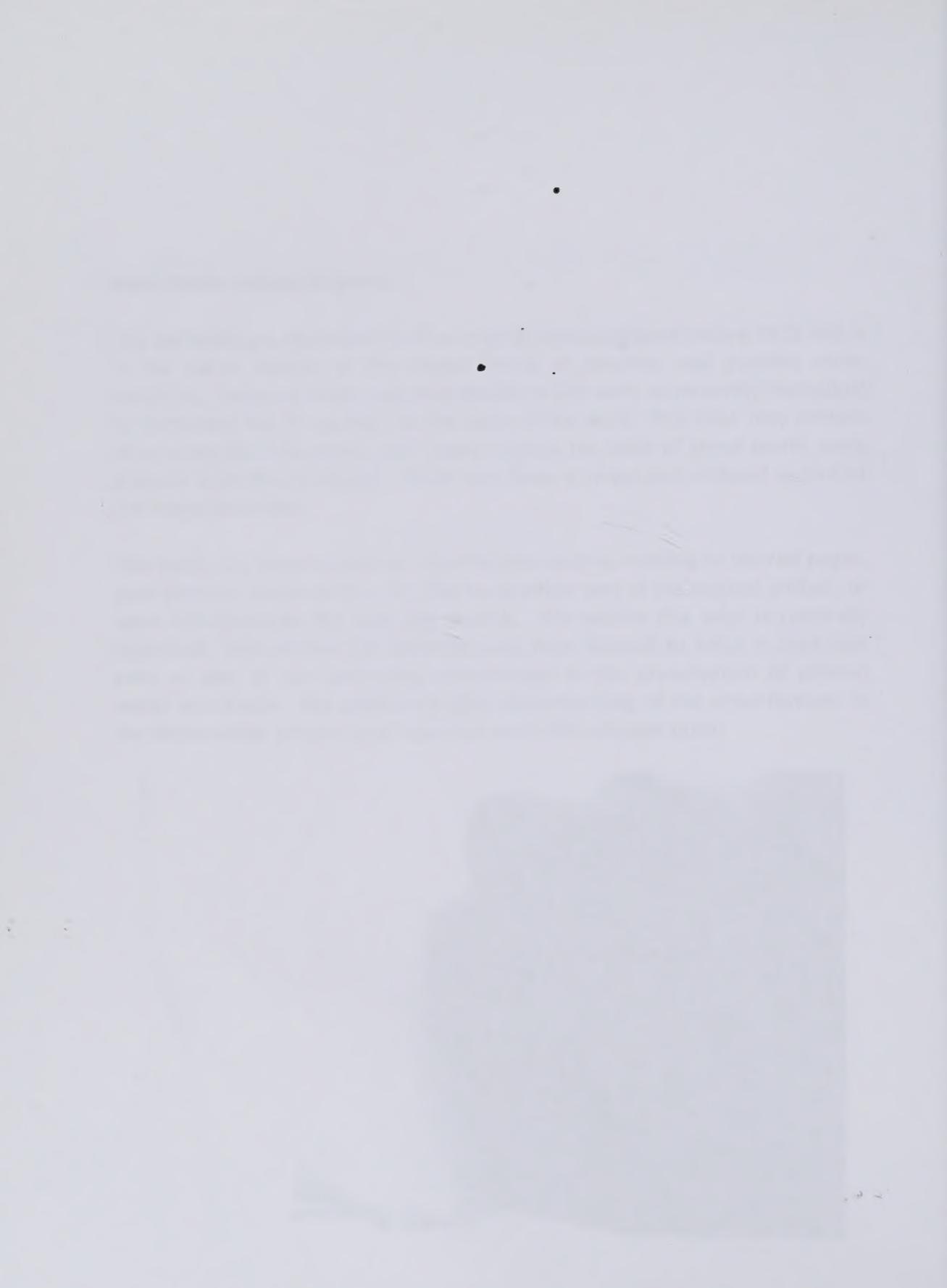
Hugh James Rose, Edward Bouverie
Pusey

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LETTER

TO THE

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

IN

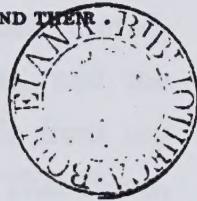
REPLY TO MR. PUSEY'S WORK

ON THE

CAUSES OF RATIONALISM IN GERMANY:

COMPRISED

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CONFESSIONS OF FAITH, AND THEIR
ADVANTAGES.



BY THE

REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE, B.D.

CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
AND VICAR OF HORSHAM, SUSSEX.

—
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667.

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the following reply to Mr. Pusey was advertised immediately after the appearance of his work, I trust I may be excused for mentioning that several of the first sheets were then printed, under the pressure of severe illness, and the inconveniences of frequent removals from my home and books for change of air. That illness, however, increased so rapidly on me, that I was obliged to give up the task, and I have only very lately been able to resume it. Under such circumstances I should not have appeared before the public at all, had I not felt myself compelled to do so, and I trust that they will be allowed to weigh in excuse for many imperfections in this pamphlet, of which I am fully sensible.

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excite a prejudice against me. When English readers learned, that a person announced simply as ‘Professor Sack’ had taken up arms against me, they could not fail to suppose that Professor Sack must be a man of the highest reputation and greatest notoriety, while they would feel that his connection with Mr. Pusey was a sufficient pledge for the correctness of his opinions. Many readers of this class might not remember, that Germany contains, perhaps, a thousand such Professors; and very many, I am sure, will be surprised to learn, that to whatever heights of fame Professor Sack may hereafter attain, he is at present entirely lost among the crowd. When I saw his name thus introduced, I endeavoured to recall it to my memory in vain. I searched every list of theological writers within my reach with as little success. Nor was the result of an inquiry among those of my friends, who are most conversant with Germany, attended with any greater advantage. It appears, however, from Mr. Pusey’s account, that the gentleman in question is a Professor at Bonn, and that he has written a little work on the state of Protestantism in England, which I believe constitutes at present his only title to notice, and of which Mr. Pusey, strange to say, formally expresses some degree of disapprobation. I am far from insinuating, my Lord, that his opinions may be the less valuable because he is so little known to the public. I make these observations solely to

destroy the prejudice which would naturally be raised against me, by the supposition that a person so highly distinguished, that the bare designation of ' Professor Sack' would sufficiently describe him, disapproved of my views and opinions. I only wish what he says to be judged by its intrinsic value, and (though it may not be the best policy to undervalue an opponent) I will candidly avow, that I cannot discern any thing in Professor Sack's views or reasonings, to make me fear for the result.

Having thus introduced to your Lordship's notice the gentlemen who have united their efforts to correct my errors, and inculcate, as we shall see, more liberal views of Theology than those which I have advocated, I must proceed to give a general, but brief view of the order (I think, not a very logical one), and the objects of their work. Mr. Pusey gives us the following account of it. He was discontented with my work, and discontented with the German critiques on it. He applied, therefore, to Professor Sack, of whose abilities he entertained a high opinion, for a fresh one. The Professor very readily undertook the task of exposing me, which he has effected in a closely printed Letter of thirteen pages: and this Letter, though somewhat brief when compared with the size of the volume, is nevertheless, in fact, the main part of the work; for Mr. Pusey's censures of

me, in a preface of considerable length, are intended only as an introduction to it; and the larger part of the volume, containing Mr. Pusey's view of the causes of Rationalism, is only an appendix to the Letter, contributed by that gentleman, because the Professor had not time to execute a task which, in Mr. Pusey's opinion was necessary, in order to give the English reader a more correct view of the matter in question than my volume contained.

The work, therefore, announced in the Advertisement and Title-page is only a sort of excrescence from Professor Sack's Letter, a child which has outgrown its parents, and unintentionally thrown them into shade. I notice this for two reasons. The same want of order and arrangement which is visible in the form of the work runs, I think, through a large portion of it, and has often operated extremely to my disadvantage. Mr. Pusey has, I think, frequently confused himself, and failing in a clear view of the matters in dispute between us, has been thus led to charge me with opinions which I never held. His candour and good feeling will, I am sure, make him the first to acknowledge and to regret the injustice which he has thus done me.

But I notice the real nature of the work before

me for another reason. I am anxious that it should be clearly understood that I am not the aggressor. At the first view it might appear that, as the greater part of the work contains only incidental censures of my opinions, I am unnecessarily alive to them, and anxious either to indulge a controversial spirit or to provoke public notice. It is, therefore, very necessary for me to recall the attention of the reader to the fact that, the basis and foundation of the work is a regular attack on my book; written expressly at Mr. Pusey's request, and for the purpose of correcting and combating my opinions; and, that his Preface, which contains a serious list of accusations of ignorance, incompetence, and want of pure Protestant principles, is only an introduction to the main charge. This observation is, indeed, the more necessary, because Mr. Pusey concludes this very Preface, charged as it is of itself with serious accusations, and serving as an introduction to a regular bill of indictment drawn up at his own request, with a declaration of his own hatred of controversy, and his resolution not to notice any thing which may be said in reply. Mr. Pusey, my Lord, may, I can assure him, keep the peace with respect to me, or break it in future, at his own pleasure. But I am sure, when he remembers hereafter that his first appearance before the public was a regular assault on a person who

had given him no provocation, and that not content with the prospect of his own achievements, he actually dragged a friend to the onset with him, he will be the first to smile at the proof he has given of the inoffensiveness of his feelings and pursuits, and he will cheerfully forgive me for confessing that I smiled too. We are, indeed, my Lord, but poor blind creatures, and there is no subject on which we display our blindness to our own wishes and feelings more than on this very matter of controversy. How applicable to us all is Cowper's admirable fable of the Mahometan reprobation of pork! That pork was a forbidden luxury was owned by the good Mussulmans as fully as we Christian writers own the evils of controversy. But I know not how it is, we all of us find a particular little bit of controversy, in which we very ingeniously persuade ourselves there are no indications of a controversial temper, just as the good Mussulmans, we know, contrive to establish the innocency of every particular morsel of the hog 'till, quite from tail to snout, 'tis eaten!' I have, myself, the pleasure of knowing highly talented persons who, to a very persevering and very amiable denunciation of controversy and controversialists, add an equally persevering, and (I doubt not in their own judgment) an equally amiable custom of making the harshest observations on every one with whom they come in contact.

But I am determined, my Lord, that neither these gentlemen nor Mr. Pusey shall stand alone in their inconsistency. I will exert my rights in the same way, and, on the very threshold of this controversial pamphlet, will assert with great truth that I am fully sensible of the evils of controversy. I may not, indeed, condemn it with the same severity as we shall hereafter find that Mr. Pusey does; I may not put so deep a mark of reprobation on the character of a controversialist as he thinks it requires; but I am ready and willing to allow, that controversy is but too often pernicious (morally speaking) in a greater or less degree to those who engage in it. With whatever feelings of knight errantry against error a young man may set out in life, it is not very long before he discovers that in general he may be far more usefully, as well as more happily employed, than in detecting other men's faults, or in defending himself. Life passes on, and few men are happy or unhappy enough to avoid learning, from some of those salutary lessons of suffering and of sorrow which it brings, the importance of gentler thoughts, of higher views, of more tranquil meditation, than they can attain amid the storms of controversy. But there are undoubtedly circumstances which call on us to forget our personal feelings and wishes, and engage in scenes of tumult and anger from which we would far rather

be absent. To judge when the necessity for so doing is a real one is of course the difficulty. What I have said, taken in conjunction with the serious nature of Mr. Pusey's charges, will enable the reader to decide, more accurately than I can, whether I deceive myself in supposing that such a necessity exists for me on the present occasion, and that I am bound, in justice to those who have attended to my representations of the strange condition of Protestant Theology in Germany, to prove that I have not abused their attention, that I have not in a word deceived either them or myself.

That it is my own honest belief that such a necessity exists,—that in the present instance, at least, I am not stimulated by one of the common motives which lead men to controversy, a very little reflection will shew. What pleasure, my Lord, or what advantage can I propose to myself from it? Let it be considered for a moment how different is the ground on which Mr. Pusey and myself stand. While I feel perfectly confident that whatever his opinions were, he would state them with the same frankness and honesty as he has now done, it is not to be denied that he is sailing with the current, and I against it; that the full breath of popular approbation will swell his canvass and urge his course, while the wind is blowing directly in my teeth.

In a word, my Lord, Mr. Pusey avows in the work before me, as we shall see hereafter, what, in the cant phrase of the day, would be called very liberal opinions in Theology; while mine are as certainly liable to the imputation of what is now called bigotry. His opinions are, therefore, those of far the larger portion of the world at present; mine those of the minority. The two parties claim indeed to be actuated by the same object,—an hearty desire for the good of mankind, but the means by which they would pursue it are as widely severed as pole from pole. They, my Lord, with whom I must class Mr. Pusey and Professor Sack, seem to me like the Pilot who, while his theoretical knowledge of nautical matters may be of the first order, yet cannot navigate his vessel in safety, because he never takes wind or tide into his calculation. They receive the theory which lays down what would be if men were but perfect, with implicit confidence, and all the weakness and misery of human nature are laid out of the account. They seem to have a perfect reliance on the rapid prevalence of truth, and an undoubted confidence that to be followed it need only be known; and they would therefore reject all safeguards and protections as unnecessary for its preservation, and derogatory from its excellence. The other party, while they doubt as little as the first, the final success of the

just cause, cannot persuade themselves to neglect the means by which it may be promoted, cherished, and defended from temporary injuries. They listen to the voice of experience and of history, and from its melancholy tones, ‘harsh but not grating,’ they learn, as they believe that Providence intended they should learn, to discern the causes of past evils, and to guard against future ones. But this, my Lord, as I say, is not the policy nor the philosophy of the day. Mr. Pusey strikes the chord which will vibrate to every man’s heart; while, in re-asserting these old-fashioned opinions, I must sound notes which will be in discord with them. And I am but too sensible that I must reap the fruit, the natural and necessary fruit of this; that I must write, in a word, under every possible disadvantage. They, indeed, of whose opinions I am the feeble and unworthy advocate, must be contented very frequently to hear themselves branded as bigots, and reviled as if actuated by every base and selfish feeling, which can degrade the moral and intellectual nature of man. To much of this clamour indeed, it requires no great stretch of philosophy to be callous. But there are many, very many high and hopeful natures led away by the ruling passion, dragged at the chariot wheels of the spirit of the day, who are yet capable of far better and juster thoughts. It is, my Lord, undoubtedly no trifling matter of complaint and re-

gret, to be held in suspicion or openly attacked by such men, by men whose talents, whose acquirements, and whose views and wishes, however erroneous, command respect. But this must be so. The bigots have counted the cost, and they are content to pay it. They are contented, I mean, to be mistaken and misjudged by men whose principles are not more pure nor more lofty than their own; and to bear even from them, for the truth's sake, the suspicion of unworthy motives or of narrow views. For there are consolations neither few in number, nor trifling in degree. "The blue sky bends over all;" the world of nature and of grace, the fair domains of thought, of literature, of feeling, of Christian love and benevolence, are as free and as open to the poor bigots, as to him who proscribes and reviles them. And when they turn to the future, they can look with patient hope and expectation beyond to-day or to-morrow, secure and confident that a mania, however strong, will subside, that the tide will ebb, that truth and experience will one day re-assert their rightful supremacy, though it should be when they are in their graves. These, I say, are their consolations—and these things enable them, however violently and foully reviled, to hold on their course, and patiently to submit to accusations of baseness, which their souls abhor.

I have been led to digress a little from my subject, and to speak of men and things a little wide of my present purpose, of my antagonist and myself. And yet, my Lord, I think I may stand excused. Mr. Pusey has held me up (I do not mean with any personal feeling—I am far too insignificant to excite, and he is of too Christian a temper to indulge such a feeling—I do not mean in improper language—a gentleman and a scholar could never descend to the use of it) but he *has* held me up to public contempt, not only for incompetence, and for ignorance, but for ‘an abandonment of the fundamental principles of Protestantism,’ and an over-value for Church articles and Church authority. It may be reckoned a mark of weakness to be affected by this, but I will confess that when I looked to the respectability and right intentions of the person from whom these charges proceeded, I experienced no slight degree of pain at them; that I have felt too that something was due to myself, that there is ‘a spirit in my heart,’ in the words of the poet, which imperatively demands this vindication of my opinions,

Returning—like a ghost unlaid,
Until the debt I owe be paid.

I shall therefore briefly declare and vindicate my

principles on the present occasion, and then leave them to speak for themselves. I cannot, at least, at present, anticipate any circumstances which are likely to induce me to take any further share in the present controversy.

I now proceed, without farther delay, to the consideration of Mr. Pusey's volume; and, as I understand it is referred to as conveying a far more correct view of the state of Protestant Theology in Germany than mine, nay, as the work itself contains several hints of an intention to qualify my statements*, I shall do myself the justice of presenting to the English reader very briefly Mr. Pusey's opinion of the extent of Rationalism. Having done so, I earnestly trust that I shall not in future be reproached with exaggeration. For it is to be remembered, that Mr. Pusey is better inclined to the German Divines than I am, and that his views are, as I have already stated, what is commonly termed more liberal than mine. The testimony, therefore, of a person of different opinions,

* Thus Professor Sack (p. 1, of his Letter) says, in addressing Mr. Pusey, ' Being fully convinced that we are agreed on the main points, and that you are yourself sufficiently acquainted with Germany to enter into the circumstances which either remove or mitigate the charges of Mr. Rose.'

and well acquainted with Germany *, is of the greatest value to me.

I contend, then, that Mr. Pusey's book, in whatever spirit it may be conceived, or with whatever intentions it may be written, is a full confirmation of mine: and that whatever qualifying phrases Mr. Pusey may adopt, his work bears me out in every material statement which I have made. It will be unnecessary to occupy your Lordship with the citation of many passages, for Mr. Pusey, in the honest exercise of his feelings, has fortunately expressed himself with so much vehemence on the subject, that the adduction of two or three will effect my object. The very title of his work, indeed, contains almost enough for my purpose, for it declares directly and decidedly that Rationalism has been 'predominant' in the Theology of Germany. Looking again no farther than the third page I find Mr. Pusey deliberately recording his opinion of 'the several and not unfrequently opposite aberrations which took place in Germany, and which *terminated in the temporary unbelief of so large a portion of its speculating minds,*' &c. &c. In the same and the succeeding page, I find too the scenes

* Mr. Pusey has, I understand, been resident for a very considerable period in one or other of the German universities. His work shews that he has given his attention to the Rationalist authors; and we find too, that he was living in habits of intimacy with German divines.

which I have described, represented as *a crisis* from which Germany is now recovering, a *fearful development* through which the Evangelical Church has been conducted, and *a temporary desolation*. After these expressions, I feel, my Lord, that there can be no necessity for proceeding. It is idle and degrading to quarrel about the exact force of particular phrases, and your Lordship will, I am sure, be entirely satisfied by the spirit of those I have cited. When I remember that the work before me avows the design of correcting my representation of the lamentable state of the German Churches, I can hardly expect a stronger confirmation of it than a declaration of their absolute 'desolation'; and I can hardly have described that desolation in stronger terms than by a statement that 'a large portion of the speculating minds of Germany have been lost in unbelief.' That Mr. Pusey and I differ widely in our estimate of the good and evil of this state of things is true; but opinion, my Lord, is free, as he, I am sure, will be the first to avow. While, therefore, I feel great respect for his talents and attainments, I cannot do so little justice to myself, or let it be supposed, that I shewed so little respect to your Lordship and the public in the formation of the views which I ventured to bring forward, as to allow that I am prepared to surrender them at the first summons. I did not form them without de-

liberation ; and I mean no disrespect to Mr. Pusey, in saying that he furnishes to my humble understanding no reason for changing them. I feel myself, therefore, perfectly at liberty to accept Mr. Pusey's evidence, though I cannot accede to his opinions.

But, my Lord, though I do not wish to continue the ungrateful task of commenting on Mr. Pusey's *words*, I cannot refrain from concluding what I have to say on this part of the subject, by quoting a few sentences from a writer of whom Mr. Pusey declares, in a phrase liable, I fear, to very serious misconstruction, that his writings will form a new era in theology. What, then, is the testimony of this writer ? Does he contradict my statements, or would a comparison of them with his give any reason for charging me with exaggeration ? I request your Lordship's attention to a single passage. 'With regard to the learned and cultivated classes, at least, a certain tolerance towards the faith of the Church has revived, among many a reverence and a need for it. It has been perceived that the way which was hitherto trod led to no blessing ; the illumination has not produced its vaunted fruits ; philosophy has not justified the confidence with which it was exultingly greeted ; after the foundation of positive faith had been undermined, in many, very many,

the general truths of the so-called Natural Religion sunk in the ruins; the unsatisfactoriness of a scepticism is now felt, which conceals itself perchance under loud-sounding phrases, but deceives not the experienced, who has been tried in the struggles of life, and which deserts its adherent without consolation in the presence of death. We have become convinced that by the side of the many systems, which in part, without any great expenditure of intellect and of originality, have yet found approbation or been tolerated among us; that of the old Church, which is inferior to no other in consistency and depth, may with honour maintain its place. Whoever, consequently, undertakes to defend it, has at least (with the exception of a few journals and a few individuals, the representatives of an earlier period) no longer to anticipate the common contempt and hostility of all the self-deemed wise; and if the larger number, like the Athenians of old, reserve the further investigation for another time, yet is there here and there another Dionysius the Areopagite among them, who finds here what he had hitherto sought in vain *."

It appears then, my Lord, that even a German writer allows that, as I said, a sceptical philosophy

* Twesten, quoted by Mr. Pusey, p. 181.

was greeted with exultation—that in very many the foundation of positive faith was undermined—that it is now only that the unsatisfactoriness of scepticism is at last perceived—that many systems, neither wise nor original, have been approved or tolerated—that at an earlier period, whoever had defended the old faith * would have been greeted with the common contempt and the hostility of the self-deemed wise—and that even now (blessed state!) only a certain tolerance towards the faith of the Church has revived among the learned and cultivated classes. My Lord, have I said more, or spoken in stronger terms than these? And if I have not, why is my statement to be held up to the public as exaggerated, as it often has been, because the same facts, as Mr. Pusey and his friend admit, may be stated in my pages in more detail, and with a stronger feeling of indignation than in theirs, but not with a stronger feeling than their enormity deserves, not a stronger feeling against them than can be fully justified in the writings of any one who feels the blessings of Christianity, and desires the good of mankind? I trust, indeed, my Lord, that after these express declarations from persons of views so different from my own, I shall hear no

* See the full confirmation of this statement in the passage which I have cited from Reinhard, in my Appendix.

more of calumny or even of exaggeration ; at least if I do so, I shall be perfectly contented to refer my accusers to Mr. Pusey, and shall only beg them to give his work a patient and attentive perusal.

Having thus established the general accuracy of my statements on the evidence of a work intended to call them in some degree into question, I feel more confidence in requesting your Lordship's attention to the *particular* objections which that work brings against me. I must begin by a brief statement of the objects I had in view in my publication, because Mr. Pusey and his friend seem entirely to have mistaken them ; and because I am naturally anxious that other readers should know exactly what they may expect to find in a work, the subject of which is undoubtedly of great importance, however little the value of the execution may correspond to it.

The Theology of the Protestant Churches in Germany, has, for the last half of the preceding century, and the commencement of the present one, presented a singular spectacle. A very large portion of the divines of these churches were led to adopt opinions, which more or less directly tend to the renunciation of all belief in the divine origin of our Religion. They still, however, retained the name of Christians and the profession of Christianity

—and the characteristic industry of their nation, led them to make very wide and extensive researches into almost every quarter of Theological study. Now, in the first place, this phenomenon appeared to me well to deserve attention. Had the facts of the case simply been that Deism had established a very wide and extended sway in a Christian country, I should have entertained the same opinion. But it was undoubtedly a phenomenon of still more appalling singularity, that a large portion of the ministers of a Christian Church should have laid aside all proper notions of a Revelation, while they yet deceived others or themselves, by retaining the profession and the language of Christianity. I was well aware too that in this country, a very imperfect notion was entertained of the extent to which the evil had gone; and this was another reason for entering on a subject so full of speculative interest and of practical instruction.

On the other hand, as our intercourse with the Continent had become free, many of the writings of these self-called Christian Divines were finding their way into the hands of the English students in theology. It appeared to me, therefore, indispensable, that these students should have a clear conception of the principles of such writers, that they might not, by the deceptive use of the Christian

phraseology, still retained in the Rationalist works, be betrayed, at a period of life when their own judgment was not matured, into conclusions wholly subversive of Christianity.

These objects, my Lord, I must say, seemed to me then, and seem to me still, of no inconsiderable importance. But they were not my sole objects. There are very few temptations, I believe, which beset man more frequently or with more fatal power, than that which leads him unreasonably to exalt his own intellect and to spurn the notion of looking beyond himself for aid or for instruction. Neither is there any temptation which when unresisted, leads to greater absurdities in theory, or greater evils in practice. It follows, as a matter of course, that we require frequent and powerful warnings against a temptation so frequent and so fraught with evil. I, therefore, anticipated no small result of good from an exhibition of the state of German theology, because, on the one hand, the human intellect had been there allowed to assert its entire independence and its self-sufficiency without any kind of check or restraint; and, on the other, the absurdities and evils which had sprung up from this evil seed among the Rationalist divines were so many and so striking, that however faintly and feebly depicted by

me, they could not fail to produce their due impression *.

* It has been objected to me that a particular warning will rarely effect a particular object, and that it will not be felt at the time it is uttered. Man, indeed, is in a state of education, and, like a child, may require repeated warnings and admonitions, and may profit only by the sum of them. But the lesson which is never given will never be learned ; and the wisdom which man stands in need of he will never gain, if the warning voice is silent because, in a sense of its own weakness, it despairs of producing at once the effect it desires ; if because it cannot do all, it will do nothing. The little brook must each send forth its petty tribute of waters to compose that full and majestic stream which shall bear down all opposition before it, and roll on resistless to the ocean.

Again, it has been directly objected to me that Christianity requires no such defence,—that it will laugh to scorn all the pride of human reason, and that when passion and folly have shaken off all the wholesome restraints which God would impose on them, and man, wearied by the follies and the guilt into which his false guides have conducted him, has found his inability to direct or teach himself, he will shake off the dominion of passion and folly, and submit himself to his true and proper guide. I fully admit the truth of this representation. But the question is, whether he cannot be saved from the long process of guilt and suffering by which alone he can on this plan be rescued from his errors ; whether he cannot be spared from this fiery ordeal ; whether, in one word, when he knows that the course he is running has been repeatedly pursued by others, and that the result has been uniformly the same, evil, namely, guilt and

But I had another object connected with the preceding. It has in every Church been the cry of those who are inclined to deify their own intellect, that rules for belief are positive evils,—that all restraints should be taken away,—and that opinions should be left wholly and entirely free. As I shall have occasion to speak on this point below, I will only say here, that as I believe, on the contrary, that such rules are necessary, as it chanced that they had been laid aside in the German churches, and as I thought that the extent (not the origin) of the evils which infected those churches was attributable to their neglect, I thought it fair to turn the attention of my countrymen to the spectacle which those churches exhibited. When I say that such rules are necessary, my Lord, let me not be misunderstood. I mean necessary to the well being and good order of the churches, not necessary for the final preservation of truth, nor the final success of Christianity. But on this topic I will not enlarge here. I regret that I shall have occasion to recur to it again in considering Mr. Pusey's opinions.

These then, my Lord, were the objects I had in

absurdity, he will not *finally* profit by the lesson, and spare himself a long course of error, of suffering, and of shame.

view. And in pursuing them I certainly stated what I believed, and still believe to be true, that a great majority of the divines of the German Protestant Churches, had adopted Rationalism in a greater or less degree, and had so far laid aside their belief in a direct revelation. But it was not my object nor intention to point out all the causes which had given rise to so lamentable a state of things, nor to give a history of German theology. The enquiry into those causes was, indeed, a most important and interesting object, but, as I have said, it was not mine. The limits of my work were wholly inadequate to its execution. Nor am I at all ashamed to own, that its execution was also far beyond my powers and my knowledge. One great requisite for such an enquiry would obviously be a full and familiar acquaintance with the writings of at least the major part of those great divines who in earlier times adorned the churches of Protestant Germany. Now, though, in common with every old-fashioned Student in Divinity, I had often recurred to their pages for the instruction they afford; though I knew enough of them to know that they are much injured and misrepresented in those modern historians from whom Mr. Pusey's view of their works is derived, I certainly could not pretend to say that, without a far longer study of the subject, I was qualified to write their

history, or that I had ever entertained such a purpose in perusing their works. But even this knowledge, though indispensable, would not have been, in my view, the first requisite for such a task. For I am much disposed to believe that great changes of opinion, either in particular classes*, or with respect to particular subjects, rarely take place without corresponding changes in other classes, and with relation to other subjects. There will be a spirit pervading all the branches of literature or called into existence by external events. And this spirit will manifest itself in every department of thought and practice. We must trace it in all these quarters before we can gain a full knowledge of its nature, or determine the source from which it springs. I should hold all attempts at accounting for the origin of the opinions to which I have alluded, as entirely fruitless, without a full examination of the general literature and the history of the country during the time they prevailed,

* Of course, external circumstances may give rise to apparent exceptions. For example, it is said that in Spain and Portugal there is a middle class rising, lawyers, merchants, &c. who from their business are forced into a little knowledge, while the upper and lower classes remain stationary, and that thus there are two parties with widely different views. I do not know how far this is true, but it is intelligible.

and a full comprehension of the spirit which that literature and that history displayed.

After this statement, Mr. Pusey, I am sure, will be ready to own that he, in common with my German antagonists, has mistaken my views in supposing that I was endeavouring to write a *history* of German Theology—that whatever may be my weakness or my incompetence, they were not so entire and absolute as to make me imagine that I was assigning causes while I was only detailing results—and that the charges of imperfection * which he al-

* Mr. Pusey's first objection to me on this head is thus stated—

"In the mode, however, in which these facts are presented, the author missed that arrangement of the facts themselves through which alone it becomes possible to trace the connexion of causes and effects through the whole course of the system described." (Pref. p. vii.) I can only say, that as it was not my object to trace the connexion of causes and effects through the system, but simply to state the effects intelligibly, it appears a little hard to accuse me for adopting an arrangement, not suited indeed for an object which I had not in view, but, as I thought and still think, well suited for that which I had.

Again,

"Of infinitely more importance, however, appeared to be the omission of the history of German Theology previous to the commencement of the crisis described; since in that previous history, the deepest causes of this crisis must necessarily lie, and

leges against my work on this head have consequently arisen from his mistaking its object. Nor will Mr. Pusey, I am sure, allege that a history of results can convey no instruction and be of no importance. It would surely be competent to me, if I could exhibit the murderer paying the forfeit of his crimes on the scaffold, to say, "Behold and tremble at the effects of unbridled passion," though I might be unable to point out the fatal steps by which pas-

without a full knowledge of this, it seemed hopeless to anticipate any satisfactory results." (Pref. p. viii.) To whom, and when this anticipation *seemed* hopeless, or of what results Mr. Pusey speaks, I know not. But neither to me nor to any one who expected from me only that which I undertook to give, could that omission, at least, afford any cause for hopelessness of satisfaction. I undertook to tell them what had been thought and said in theology for some years past, not what had led to those thoughts and words. If I performed what I undertook (it might not be so useful a task indeed as Mr. Pusey's) is it quite reasonable to accuse me for not having performed that to which I did not aspire? But I need not say more in my own defence—for Mr. Pusey, in the very next sentence, becomes my defender. "The causes accordingly incidentally assigned in Mr. Rose's work (for his professed object was to give an account of the actual state of theology, not of the causes in which that state originated) seemed partly inadequate to produce so great a revolution, partly of too negative a character to be entitled to the name." Mr. Pusey has, therefore, censured me in one sentence for omitting that which in the very next he expressly states it was beside my purpose to insert.

sion had attained its height—whether it had never been checked in the days of childhood—whether it had been fostered by a long course of violence and sin—or was called into action by brutal intemperance.

I now come to the more direct charges against me. The first seems to be, that I missed 'a due appreciation of the intrinsic and relative importance of those facts' (the facts respecting Rationalist Theology, stated by me). 'To some of the innovations a degree of weight *seemed* to be attached, which their relation to the whole compass of the Christian system did not justify; other attempts, which were in themselves justly stigmatized, had either expired as soon as they came into being, or even if they did enjoy a short-lived existence, were, from the nature and character of their authors, as little entitled to notice, as the ephemeral and contemptible productions of a Carlyle or a Hone *.' (Pref. p. vii. and viii.)

To a general condemnation I can only put in a general denial. I may safely leave it to the candid

* Should Mr. Pusey reconsider this question, I would beg him to do me the favour of pointing out in my work any instances of German writers, to whose opinions I have even *seemed* to attach much weight, and who yet were looked on by their countrymen in at all the same light as the two persons, whom he mentions, have been in England.

reader to say, whether my great accusation against the German Divines was not this, that they endeavoured to do away with all notion of immediate interference of God with the Christian Religion; whether this is not the point on which I have rested my charge, and which I made 'the head and front of their offending?' I certainly thought the picture would be lifeless and uninteresting without some notice of the details, of the strange fancies, I mean, which in the course of their career the Rationalists have exhibited. I believe, too, that my readers would be of the same opinion, while they would entirely acquit me of representing a Paullus's absurd explanation of a particular miracle, or a Semler's rejection of such passages of Scripture as he judged useless, as matters of equal moment, or of equal mischievousness with the great principles of Rationalism. But, in good truth, I must go even farther than this; for I think, my Lord, that the gravest historian of the French Revolution might relate, with strict propriety, as a lively illustration of the state of feeling which subsisted during that extraordinary period, a fact which I know that the late Abbé Farquharson has frequently mentioned as having passed under his own eyes, the exhibition, I mean, of Punch precisely under the guillotine, and the 'plausus theatri' which constantly accompanied his feats, though the puppets were even occasionally

stained with the blood of the expiring victims*. Would it not be unjust to suspect the historian of ' attaching too much weight' to the disgusting fact ? Would he not clearly intend to lead his reader's attention to a consideration of the principles, which, and which alone, by their accursed power to pollute and to degrade, could have led men, once of kindly hearts and affections, to an unnatural and brutal recklessness of human suffering ? Could I, then, my Lord, have exhibited the ultimate tendency of the principles held by the Rationalists more effectually, than by shewing that under their influence all decency, all good feeling, all veneration were laid aside, and that, without one sentiment of reluctance or regret, one man would suspect our Lord of imposture, another would arraign him for enthusiasm, while a third would expend all his labour and his learning in such attempts to explain away the miracles, as cannot fail to excite either horror or disgust ? I need not, however, proceed on this point, for Mr. Pusey himself does not charge me positively with attaching too much weight to these exemplifications of the actual, if not the necessary, result of Rationalist principles, but with *seeming* to do so. After what I have said,

* Since writing the above, I have observed that Mr. Burke (*Letters on a Regicide Peace, Works, vol. viii. p. 179.*) actually notices a similar fact for the very purpose I mention.

after assuring him that nothing could be farther from my intention than to elevate these absurdities into the same rank of evil as the principles from which they flowed, I shall leave it to his own more candid judgment to say, whether he has not dealt hardly by me. I would intreat him to remember that if every reader, like Polonius, made his author's words take the shape of a whale or a camel, as the Hamlet, the wayward caprice, or the suggestion of the moment directed, the poor author must be driven to a more effectual measure than even that which Pausanias records of the early Greek painters. He must not only, like them, write over his abortive efforts to express his own meaning in the common way, *this is a horse*, but he must add at the same time, *and not an elephant.*

I now come to more important matter. Mr. Pusey's next charge (which I must state in my own words, as it runs through two pages of his preface) is, that the principal cause which I incidentally assign for the evils lately prevalent in German Theology, was 'the neglect of a controlling superintendence, and of adherence to the letter of the symbolical books,' and that I thus 'confound the withdrawing what are, at the utmost, the means of prevention, with the introduction of a positive agency.' Mr. Pusey illustrates his statement by a figure, and

says that ‘the stream must be filled from some other causes, than those which merely shake the flood-gates by which it is restrained,’ &c. &c. He then goes on to remark on the absurdities of such a position as that which he ascribes to me, shewing that there would be strong probabilities against the truth of a religion whose downfall was necessarily or probably involved in the removal of these checks —that none but Papists and two English Deists have ever fancied that such consequences would arise —that my position, consequently, abandons the fundamental principles of Protestantism—that Scripture does not want such adscititious aids, &c. &c. The accusation is repeated by Professor Sack (p. iv.) who represents me (as a *pendant* to Mr. Pusey’s picture) as ascribing to subscription the spiritual blessings which the Church of England enjoys. I should have some difficulty in expressing my surprise, when I found myself accused of absurdities so very gross, as the confounding the causes of the mischief with the instruments which effected it, or the pain which I could not but feel at being charged with attributing the blessings of Christianity to the regulations which may tend to prevent weak men from rejecting them in their own persons, and wicked men from robbing others of them. I cannot, indeed, sufficiently express my deep sense of shame and degradation, when I am

compelled, as a Christian, to protest against being thought to believe that man's carelessness or man's sin can bring to nought that purpose which God has decreed to bring to full effect. I naturally recurred to my work to see what grounds any carelessness of phrase might afford for such accusations. I found there that I had not only pointed out the withdrawing the controlling superintendence as the means only, not the cause, but had absolutely (p. 10, line 8), printed the word *means* in italics. At the same time I will freely confess, that I found two, or perhaps three sentences, on which, taken apart from the context, a well-trained critic, who was determined to prefer an accusation of such egregious folly against me, might perhaps have founded it. But, as I feel perfectly confident that Mr. Pusey and Mr. Sack have no wish nor predetermination to do me injustice, these sentences could not diminish my surprise. For, if any fault or carelessness on my part restrained the exercise of that candour which, I am persuaded, belongs to them, and prevented them from acknowledging frankly that in a work deplored the dereliction of the great doctrines of Christianity, the incomparable value of those doctrines must be the ground-work of the whole argument, and that the writer could not possibly feel himself obliged to do more than tacitly assume that value ; yet I should have thought that a due estima-

tion for their own time and talents would have prevented them from wasting a second thought or a second moment on a person who has so little claim to the character of a rational being, as to be capable of confounding the walls which inclose a treasure with the treasure itself. I will not pretend to say that in writing I took any pains to guard against such an accusation, for the possibility of it never crossed my mind. When, after having stated directly and positively in p. 10, that the want of control in the German Churches was the *means* by which so much evil was effected, I added in p. 11, in pursuing this statement, that 'the evil was to be imputed entirely to the absence of all control,' &c. I really never supposed that this or similar sentences would be taken out of connexion with the context. I might add, that if they stood in no such connexion with the context, I should not have imagined that any one who did not believe me an idiot could deduce such a meaning from them. Let me illustrate my argument by taking up Mr. Pusey's own figure. A few months ago a new canal near my residence burst its banks after a severe flood, blew up the lock, and did extensive damage. On inquiring of a friend how the mischief had arisen, his answer was, that 'it was caused *entirely* by the carelessness of the attendant, who had not drawn up the flood-gates.' Would Mr. Pusey accuse my friend

of the extraordinary folly of believing that the accumulation of water had nothing to do with the matter, and that the keeping the flood-gates down was the real cause which deluged the surrounding meadows, or would he, which is still more to the purpose, attribute any impropriety of expression to him ? The fact is, that some things are so plain and so undoubted, that men take them at once for granted, in common argument, spoken or written, and suppose that others do so likewise. If it were not so, it would be necessary, in asserting any proposition, to assert, at the same time, every other connected with it ; and when we went the great length of expressing our belief that two and three make five, to enter a very earnest caveat against being supposed to doubt that two and two make four.

This matter is so clear that it cannot require another word ; but I am compelled to notice the deductions which Mr. Pusey has made from the absurdity which he has ascribed to me. He says, that I hold principles only held heretofore by Papists and Deists—that ‘ my views involve the abandonment of the fundamental principles of Protestantism, and derogate from the independence and inherent power of the word of God.’ These are pretty serious charges, easily made, but easily, as I shall directly

shew, repelled. It is a goodly company in which Mr. Pusey has deposited me, but I rather suspect that, if my views secure me a place among them, I shall be accompanied by persons whose names will be sufficient security for the purity of our common Protestantism.

Mr. Pusey seems to imagine that because I have a very high value for Articles and for a control over opinion, I think that a want of them would lead to a *downfall* of Christianity. I have never said this, I have never said any thing like it.
I disclaim such a belief with as much sincerity as Mr. Pusey, and I claim to be recognized as holding, with as much sincerity as he does, the belief that no human neglect and no human error can *destroy* that religion against which its divine Master has promised that the gates of hell shall never prevail ; or derogate from the inherent power of that Scripture which shall not pass away when the heavens and the earth pass away. But would the downfall of Christianity (even if such an evil could be contemplated) be the only evil to be feared or guarded against ? We might not fear that the efforts of evil men could strike the sun from heaven, but are we, therefore, to make no efforts to clear away the ' smouldering smoke' which obscures it from our

view * ? The truth is simply this, that Mr. Pusey has made a singular confusion between the preservation of the Christian Religion and the welfare of particular Christian Churches. He knows that Christianity wants no protection from man, and he therefore imagines that no such protection can be required for the good of Christian communities.

Now I know of no promise that Christianity shall not experience very severe temporary injury—shall not receive very deep wounds—shall not be exposed, though, I admit, for a time only, to confusion and mischief to a frightful extent. I am not ashamed to avow my belief, that when mischief is afloat, from whatever causes, human care may (under God's blessing) check it, and human carelessness may give it space and opportunity to work dreadful evil. It is my belief also that there is in man such a tendency to exalt his own speculations and to deify his own reason and opinions at the expense of Scripture, that there is a need of some control over this tendency, not to protect Christianity, but to protect Christian communities from dreadful though temporary mischiefs.

The real fact is, my Lord, that Mr. Pusey's seri-

* Burke's Letters on a Regicide Peace, Works, vol. viii. p. 237.

ous charges against me resolve themselves ultimately into this, that I ascribe more weight than he does to human endeavours, as instruments in the hand of God, for carrying on his great designs. The subject is one of such extreme importance, that I trust I shall be pardoned for adding a few words on it, and humbly endeavouring to set it in what appears to me at least its true light. I feel myself, indeed, almost compelled, on the present occasion, to enter on this question, as the tendency of Mr. Pusey's arguments, not only in his Prefatory observations against me *, but through his

* I am aware that Mr. Pusey has twice, in his Preface, stated that he does *not* mean 'to derogate from the value of articles generally, much less of our own.' But my view of his opinions rests both on the nature of the objections which he makes to me, on the general tendency of his book, and especially on what follows the very declaration I have just cited. Mr. Pusey says, that 'the value of articles is very great, both to individuals as presenting a test to examine the character of their own faith, and to the Church as enabling it to exclude those who depart from the principles on which itself was founded.' The first of these reasons for valuing articles is, in my opinion, wholly insufficient, as will appear from the following pages. To think articles only useful as a standard for comparing our own faith with that of highly gifted men, is certainly not to think them necessary in the light of control. The second of these reasons must, I think, have escaped Mr. Pusey in a moment of inattention; for, thinking as he does of the mischief of strict control, could he possi-

whole book, is to deprecate the necessity for the exercise of control over opinion in the Church, and to deprecate the evils which he considers likely to arise from its exercise. It is a question not to be considered, God knows, in any harsh or narrow spirit; and if those opinions, of which I am the feeble advocate, be considered as partaking of intolerance, let me at least say, that they have not been taken up by those who profess them without a lively and feeling sense of the earnest and sincere endeavours and aspirations of our poor nature after truth and certainty on the one hand, or without a painful conviction of its frailty and feebleness on the other. It is under the conviction of danger that the irksome precaution must be taken, under the certainty of feebleness or disease that the remedy must be provided ; and it is worse than idle, if the danger and the disease be proved to exist, to object to the precaution and the remedy.

It is certain, my Lord, that no Church is *bound* bly deem it right to inflict such an evil on a whole body, *only* because an *inconsiderable* number of its members might err ? If he allows, on the other hand, that a *considerable* portion might be perverted, how can he object to my view of the *necessity* of control ? As this statement would, therefore, overturn, and not merely qualify the rest of Mr. Pusey's arguments, I think I only do him justice in passing it over with this notice.

by any direction in Scripture to compose a Confession of Faith, or require subscription to Articles. It is bound only by Scripture, as well as by common sense, to see that its Ministers speak the same thing, and that this ‘same thing’ should be the pure and everlasting Gospel of Jesus Christ. But the external *means* of securing such unity in the truth seem certainly to be left to the discretion of man. I am at a loss to imagine, indeed, what arguments can be alleged against this position. That for many ages all direct interposition has been withdrawn—that the religion of Jesus Christ is nevertheless to be carried on—that its furtherance is, consequently, left to human agency—that all human efforts will come to nothing, where there is no wisdom in devising means and no steadiness in using them—that Scripture has nevertheless not pointed out the means required for effecting this great purpose farther than the establishment of a ministry—and that the means, therefore, of preserving and spreading Christianity are to be devised as well as used by man, appear to be propositions admitting of no dispute. They are certainly propositions which in no way interfere with the firmest belief that it is to God, and not to man, that the preservation of the Christian Religion must be owing; that he alone can give to the best means blessing and success; and that he will correct the use of

improper and evil means by bringing failure and misery on them.

The point, then, for examination is, whether the use of strict and binding articles is an improper or a necessary means under the existing condition of the Church. When I say *strict and binding* articles, I would be understood to speak of articles which refer to essential matters only. Mr. Pusey will, I am sure, remember that I have distinctly stated my objections to articles * which, like the German, endeavour to insure uniformity by laying down rules on very many and very minute points. I defend the use of articles which relate to fundamentals, and I defend the use of no other. Now if the ministry of the Church were to be consigned to a very few persons, and if it could be made certain that they would be the excellent of the earth alike for piety, for talents, and for learning, that they would be carefully brought up in the knowledge and profession of the true faith in Christ Jesus, under the watchful eye of the elder ministers and pastors of the flock, we might perhaps feel that such circumstances would almost exonerate the Church from the necessity of making any special provision as to this important matter. Error might perhaps enter into the

* State of the Protestant Religion, pp. 15 and 16.

heart of some one of these excellent men, because they would still be but men, but the means of correcting it would be at hand in the close and careful superintendence which is practicable in a small community, and in the piety and learning which would make him who erred still accessible to the voice of admonition and of truth.

In the actual Church of Christ, however, the case is and must be widely different in many important particulars. The extent and numbers of that Church render it impossible that all its Ministers should be of the highest order of endowments. A body so large as the Ministry, be it of England, of France, or of Germany, must present the same diversity of gifts and graces, both of the intellect and the heart, as the world at large. It is obvious, too, that exactly in proportion to the extent of the Church, is the difficulty of any actual superintendence of the preaching of the Ministers by the higher order. These simple considerations entirely change the face of the case. It now becomes necessary to provide against the natural and unavoidable imperfections of the Ministry, to ensure the people, as far as human precautions can, against the errors which may arise from the treatment of the most important matters, by men of ordinary gifts and capacities. Before men can teach they

must learn—before men can preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they must have some clear and commanding view of its nature. It is from Scripture, undoubtedly, that such a view must be gained; but will any one venture to say that from Scripture such a clear and commanding view as is necessary for a teacher can be easily gained, by men of moderate capacities? Are the doctrines of Scripture, indeed, free from mystery? and do they relate to matters so entirely obvious that every teacher can fully decipher and easily comprehend them without aid and assistance? Is it quite certain that a body of men, the majority of whom, like the world at large, cannot be expected to possess more than moderate endowments, will all arrive at the same conclusions, at that unity of view which I assume as necessary to the fulfilment of the purposes for which a Church is designed? Will Mr. Pusey contend that it shews any distrust of God's superintending care to suppose that they will not—to suppose that minds often not strong by nature, and always set afloat in an ocean of difficulties, as by his system they must be, at an age when every thing combines to mislead, will but too probably be blown about by every wind of doctrine? Is it, again, a sinful distrust of God, or a sinful doubt of the efficacy of his religion, to suppose that there is a spirit of pride working in the hearts of

too many of us, which prompts us to set up our own reason as our best guide, and to make it the supreme judge of the Revelation of God ? Is it, in one word, a sinful distrust of God to say and believe, that man is a weak and imperfect being, that he requires to be constantly on his guard against his own imperfection, and to adopt every means which God has put in his power to remedy it ?

But it will be asked, what evils will ensue, even if all do not gain this clear view, and do not arrive at an entire unity of opinion ? Without entering on that question at large, it is sufficient to reply, that it is not the business of the Ministers of Religion to live for ever in the cell or the cloister. When, indeed, I remember that they are to go abroad into the world, and to be intrusted with the happiness and repose of their flocks, with the care of hundreds and thousands of immortal souls, I do not think I can raise my estimate of the evil which may be thus done too high. What, if men persuade themselves, like the Germans, that the Rationalist scheme is the only true one, and thus rob their poor hearers of all the privileges and blessings of their high calling ? What, if some make only as near an approach to these doctrines as the cold tenets of the modern Socinians, and reduce Christianity to a better system of morals, with the certainty of a future life ? Can we

think, without the deepest compassion, of the poor flock thus led astray into 'dry grounds, where no water is,' robbed of the conviction of an atonement for sin, of justification by faith, of the intercession of an ever-living Redeemer, and of all the blessings of a communion with the Holy Spirit ? Can we think, without indignation, of a Church intrusted with the care of souls, which might prevent these evils, and yet allows them ? But Mr. Pusey contends that it is wrong and sinful to think that God will not protect his own religion, and to believe that such evils must happen to the whole or greater part of the Church, unless human safeguards prevent them. Now I certainly never have asserted, and do not now assert, that such evils *must* arise. I do not pretend to be able to foresee with certainty the effects of human errors, nor the operations of God's providence. It is sufficient to know that such evils *may* arise ; and when I remember that Mr. Pusey has recorded his deliberate conviction that Rationalism has lately been predominant *

* I cannot but think that such admissions on Mr. Pusey's part make him liable to a retort of the charges he has brought against me. How comes he with his views to admit that *any* error or mismanagement of man can bring Christianity into such a state as it has been in Germany ? If I have 'derogated from the independence and inherent power of the word of God,' by admitting the supposition that Christianity is likely to receive

in the German Protestant Churches, I am sure he will not contradict me, if I say, may *probably* arise. I use the word under a deep sense of the imperfection and perverseness which perpetually lead us to abuse God's best blessings to our own misery and ruin, and under a conviction which I cannot resist, that we are here below under a course of moral discipline, and taught only by the painful lessons of experience, to avoid to-morrow the evils for which we dearly suffer to-day.

That conviction makes me feel it as unreasonable to expect that God will interfere to give immediately those warnings which, by the wise arrangements of his Providence, will be given by the ordinary course of things, or to prevent those evils against which he has already placed sufficient protection in our own hands, as it would be to wonder at God's permission of evil from man's wilfulness under the other departments of his moral government. It is vain to reply, that God will take care of his Church, vain to suppose that if we neglect or misuse the means, the instruments, and the opportunities which he puts into our hands for an especial purpose, that he will bestow the

temporary injury from the neglect of precautions, has Mr. Pusey done that independence and inherent power less wrong in supposing that injury will follow from the over-use of such precautions?

same blessings or effect the purpose in the same way, as if we used them with thankfulness and diligence. What should we say of the husbandman, who neither ploughed nor sowed, because God alone could give to every seed its own body, and because he would do so if he intended man to live by bread ? What should we say, then, of the spiritual husbandman, who thinks it wrong to take any measures for the preservation of Christianity, because God alone can and will preserve it, or who thinks that the use of such measures derogates from the independence and inherent power of the word of God ? No, my Lord, God has indeed promised that his religion shall be as eternal as its Author, but he has promised nothing more, and from the evils which, eternal as it is, it has suffered, and is suffering, we must surely learn the lesson, that he never intended us to expect from him that which he has given us the power to effect ourselves.

But if it be allowed that some measures on our part are necessary, it may still be objected that Articles and Confessions are not the best. I am not so rash as to assert that they are, but I must confess that, under the guidance of a true form of Church discipline, they seem to be very far the best, of which we have as yet any knowledge or experience. That a good and careful education of the clergy

under really pious and really learned men would, even in the present wide extension of the Church of Christ, do something, I am well persuaded ; but, for the reasons I have already assigned, I do not think it would do enough for the safety of the people against the chance of erroneous doctrines, when I remember how liable even the wisest men are by themselves to err and be misled. Neither do I assert, on the other hand, that no evils are likely to arise from the use of strict articles. I am inclined to regard every human institution as imperfect : but I consider, too, that its wisdom is sufficiently vindicated if it can be shewn that the evils which it is likely to produce are, in a rational view, less, and the benefits greater, than any other system offers. This I believe to be entirely true of subscription to articles ; and I know of few cases where the actual evils have been more grossly exaggerated, and the actual benefits more strangely overlooked.

The benefits, the enormous benefits are these, that there is an unity of doctrine, that there is no opposition of preachers, and that the flocks who look up to them for light are not thrown first into doubt and difficulty, and finally into indifference or into despair, by observing such an opposition, by finding that a fresh Minister condemns and rejects that doctrine which they have been taught in their

youth, which has been the comfort of their manhood, and in which they have seen their fathers die. That is one great benefit, and the other is this, that when a congregation of faithful, holy, and learned men have, in the spirit of piety and of prayer, carefully examined Scripture itself, have recurred to the records of the Primitive Church, and have laid down a rule of faith, such as they find in Scripture, such as the Primitive Church and the good and wise of all ages have derived from Scripture, men have every assurance which they can have, short of a fresh Revelation, that they now possess a right and true view of the present system. The learning of an individual, nay, the united learning and genius of an age, can do nothing to overturn this accumulated testimony of the learned and the pious of many ages and generations. Man is no higher in the scale of intellect than he was eighteen centuries ago, though he may have shaken off some idle fancies, and have been taught by a wider experience that some favourite notions were errors or prejudices. These, however, were mere clouds in the distant horizon, which never approached and never obscured the mid-day sun. But if man has no fresh powers of mind granted to him in these days for grappling with the great subjects of Christian Theology; neither can it be said that the powers which he has were not employed in former ages in considering them.

These subjects are not the subjects of one period or one state of society, but of all ; these subjects, from the first hour the Christian Revelation was made, have never ceased to exercise the hopes and thoughts of the great and the good ; they are not now brought to light, after having slumbered through ages, disregarded or forgotten. We cannot, surely, be absurd enough to imagine, that any new light will break upon us as to essentials. What is the meaning, then, of this perpetual longing for the right of alteration and improvement in that which, if these views be true, cannot possibly be susceptible of either the one or the other*. We may, indeed, propound what has never been propounded before ; but we may rest assured, that every view short of absolute absurdity suggested itself to the minds of great and learned men in former days, and that every view which has been rejected was rejected because their

* Hear what Waterland says. ‘ Reformation is good when reformation is wanting, but to be always reforming, is no reforming at all ; it is behaving like children, tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine. All errors of any moment have been purged off long ago by the care of our Reformers, and why are we then still reforming ? Physic may be proper at certain seasons, but to pretend to live constantly upon it, instead of food, is the certain way to impair, and in a little time to destroy, the best and soundest constitution in the world.’—Remarks on Dr. Clarke’s Exposition, &c. (Works, vol. v. p. 436.)

wide views, their learning, and their love taught them it was not Christian truth. Some man may perhaps object that God may, for some wise purpose, have allowed us for eighteen centuries to deceive ourselves. In this case, it is only folly to dispute about Churches, or Articles, or Creeds, or Christianity itself. There is nothing to dispute about—there is a mere chaos before us, in which our eyes have shewn themselves unable to discern light from darkness. But unless this is so, if indeed God has given us a Revelation and the aid of his Spirit to understand it, it is so certain that nothing which concerns man can be more certain, that those great doctrines which the Primitive Church thought she derived from the Founder of Christianity and his Apostles, which have been accepted and taught by Chrysostom, Augustine, Luther, Bossuet, Waterland, or Bull, are the genuine and essential doctrines of the Gospel; and that those points in relation to the free-will of man, on which such men have differed, must for ever remain a mystery, till it shall please God either to give us a new Revelation here, or to exalt us to a state of higher knowledge. It is vain, idle, and presumptuous for one of us to imagine that we shall discover some hidden sense of Scripture on *essential* points, or some great truths which have escaped them. These men pursued the knowledge of the truth, not with an ignorant fanaticism, nor with a presumptuous

confidence in their own learning, but with an humble spirit of prayer, which, while it assiduously cultivated all the natural gifts of the intellect, and used all the means which a gracious God presented to it in the ordinary course of nature, yet relied on the instruction of that Providence for a knowledge of the truth. They would willingly confess that much might yet be done for the illustration of Scripture, and by a diligent study of it to clear doctrinal and enforce moral truths. They would own that they might have misinterpreted some texts, and collected from them a confirmation of particular doctrines, which they were not intended to give; but the supposition that they erred in the *sum* of Christian doctrine, and that the great doctrines on which they built their hopes now and hereafter might be merely the creatures of their fancy, they would have considered as a supposition fraught, as in sooth it is, with ingratitude and distrust of God.

Considerations like these, my Lord, I must honestly own, appear to me to elevate the establishment of a confession of faith into almost the rank of an indispensable duty in every Church. If such blessings as these, Unity I mean, and Truth, as far as man can judge, seem likely, under God's blessing, to follow the use of these means, we cannot be

excused for neglecting them. It is a crying injustice that, because we hold this belief, and think that the Spirit of God will be pleased to use this among other means of leading His Church and people to truth, our adversaries should accuse us of thinking that this or any other means can supersede the need of God's guiding and directing Spirit, and should charge us, in Professor Sack's words, 'with trusting more in the human formula than in the Spirit of Christ.' Let him be assured that we assert as earnestly as he can that 'that Church is, indeed, in a lamentable state which, beside the legal fences against error, dares not believe in a source from which the truth issues in a living stream.' Before we are supposed to doubt the proposition, before such heavy accusations are brought against us, it were much to be wished that our opponents would demonstrate the inconsistency of believing that 'legal fences against error' are expedient, and yet that there is an eternal and living source of truth.

I proceed, my Lord, to consider what are the evils likely to arise from the use of Articles. Let it be observed, again, that I never have denied, that I do not now deny that evils may, or, if Mr. Pusey pleases, must arise from the use of them, as well as from every other human institution. I only con-

tend that those evils are exceedingly exaggerated, and that they do not deserve a moment's thought when compared with the blessings which they accompany. The first and chief of these evils is, that in Mr. Pusey's words (p. 18,) 'the human mind can take no step except in the leading-strings of authority,' that it is accustomed 'to derive its Christian knowledge from the mechanical study of the letter of a confused form' (p. 144), that, in short, the use of articles tends to repress all freedom of inquiry, and to make men exalt a human system above Scripture, or at any rate to the same level.

The fear of these evils is a phantom that haunts Mr. Pusey's imagination like some fearful vision. Wherever he is he seems to see this, and this only, before him ; he seems to have no dread of any other evil ; and, in my judgment at least, he denounces it with no inconsiderable degree of injustice. The 'gains,' he says (p. 175), arising from that horrid state of unbelief which he allows has existed, 'are in part obvious ; the banishment of a reliance on the mere letter of a received system, of a mere intellectual conception of Christianity, of a deadening formalism, of the undervaluing of Scripture in behalf of an over-reformed human system, of an uncharitable polemic,' &c. &c. He seems, in fact, to believe, that nothing can arise from this reliance on a human

system, as he terms it, but cold, heartless controversialists, perfectly careless about Christianity itself. Nay, more than once (pp. 51 and 177), he expressly says, that 'there may be often more of Christian belief' in scepticism than in an 'unhesitating traditional belief *,' and that (p. 80), 'unbelief is, for the most part, more reclaimable than a dead and contented orthodoxy.'

I must begin, then, my Lord, by remarking, that a very invidious use of the phrase *human systems* † is constantly made by our opponents. The simple

* I confess that to me all these views appear to be founded on a narrow view of human nature. If, indeed, a man has the power and the learning to examine for himself, refuses to do so, and takes up any system with a resolution to defend it at all events, he is certainly no Christian, nor even an honest man. But how many pious and humble Christians are there who have never felt the wish nor the power to examine. Am I to be told that there is so little efficacy in the great doctrines of the Gospel, that they will not produce a Christian spirit and a Christian life in one who has been taught them in his youth, and has never doubted? They who contend so strongly for inquiry are not feelingly alive to the condition of this large portion of the Christian world.

† I cannot repeat too often, that I am not defending the German confessions. I dwell on the subject, because the tendency, at least, of Mr. Pusey's work must be to give the student a dis-taste to any control.

rather wonder at than admire the student who resolves to abide by his own views whatever they may be, because he is satisfied that he has taken the right way of getting at the truth, and that God will not allow him to err, but has no difficulty in believing that God may have allowed his whole Church to

very little attention will clear this difficulty. We shall find that all Churches agree, as far as they have adopted Scripture for their guide on the one hand, and have not on the other violated any of the obvious dictates of common sense and common sincerity. In the Roman Church, for example, the great truths of the Trinity and Atonement are received. Thus the Romanists have been led into truth on these points when they looked to Scripture alone: but they set up another guide—*Tradition*, and to that source we may trace far the larger share of their errors. Then, as to the various Protestant Churches, we can shew at once why there is difference, and consequently error. The foreign Protestants have confessed their regret at being obliged, as they thought they were, to depart from the old discipline of the Church. If men will give up such important truths, they always, I doubt not, suffer in dissent and distraction, for their error and want of resolution. Again, they chose to make their confessions too minute, to define every thing, and in a total ignorance of human nature, to decide on difficulties which are not difficulties of Christianity, but of the human mind, as, for example, on predestination. Whenever, then, any Church has endeavoured to follow Scripture, has acted up to what it knew to be right, and has attended to the dictates of common sense, in not deciding on matters incapable of decision either from Revelation or reason, it has been led into truth. If it has violated these plain principles, it has erred, and what else could be expected?

err for eighteen hundred years, or that none before himself have sought for light and knowledge in a right spirit.

I trust that considerations like these will do away with the prejudice which the use of such a phrase as *human systems* cannot fail to introduce into this question ; and that it will be understood that the Church does not intend to bring forward any system but the system of Scripture, nor any view of her own, but simply a summary of Scripture ; those truths, in short, which the best, the most learned, and the most pious Christians from the beginning till now have found in Scripture, when they have studied it with all the helps which they could derive from divine aid and human learning. That differences have arisen, on points either of minor importance, or incapable of decision, is true—that different views, different summaries have been presented is true. But the observations I have made are not the less important. It is one thing to present a system of our own, and another to present a system which we conscientiously (though it may be erroneously) believe to be the word of Scripture. In the first case we rely on human reason and human authority to the exclusion of the word of God ; in the other, though we may misunderstand that word, we still reserve our reverence for it, still bow to what we believe to be its dictates, still acknowledge, in humi-

lity and sincerity, that no human system can be admitted by those who have received the word of God.

But I am quite prepared to meet the question fully and fairly. Let it be allowed that in narrow minds some degree of prejudice may be excited by adherence to a public confession. I contend that from such minds prejudice, in some shape, can never be banished ; that if it be expelled in this form, it will return, as I shall shew, in one far more mischievous, with the additional evil of a conflict and opposition of opinions in the Church. I say, therefore, that for a large part of mankind, and consequently for no small part of the Clergy, it is better that they should be taught by some public authority what they are to believe, while for the others the use of Articles will never suppress nor even check the full exercise of inquiry.

It is not to be denied, as I have already said, that the large mass of mankind is endowed with only moderate abilities, and is, therefore, unfit to conduct abstruse and difficult researches ; and the same observation must, in some degree, apply to a large body of the Clergy, though they will always maintain a certain superiority over their equals in station and opportunities. Now, although the right of inquiry is claimed and allowed by all good Protestants, yet the existence and the constant exercise of the right are, I think, very different matters. I am as firmly convinced as Mr. Pusey,

that it is our highest duty, as well as highest privilege, not only to try the views presented to us by the test of Scripture with the utmost care before we subscribe to them, but if we subsequently become dissatisfied with the view presented to us, to have recourse again to fair and full examination. But if, in a pious and constant use of Scripture, we perceive no difference in doctrine from that view which we have been taught to consider as the true view of Scripture doctrine, nay, if we feel it strengthened and confirmed, I am at a loss to understand why we should feel it a duty to reject it, merely because it has been *taught* us (on grounds, too, which we have really every reason for believing to be just grounds) and to reconstruct this or construct some other for ourselves. I am still more at a loss to know why this should be considered as a duty, if we have no peculiar talents for conducting such an investigation, or why we should not look on Church authority as one of the means used by God's Providence for bringing his people to a knowledge of the truth.

Proud, as we too often are, of powers which cannot justify pride, no doubt it is an easy task to set all men inquiring, but what will be the result? A very limited knowledge of human nature will, I think, explain it. Men of moderate abilities soon become conscious themselves of the inability they

will not confess to others—they become perplexed and weary with investigations for which they have no taste and no ability : and the final and only use which they make of the liberty they claim, is to choose some guide and leader for themselves, and as the easiest way out of the labyrinth into which they have fallen, to adhere to his view and his system with a dogged pertinacity. Let any one who will view this matter with an unprejudiced eye, say whether in the overwhelming majority of cases, emancipation from public authority is not synonymous with ‘swearing on the words’ of some favorite teacher ; and whether all we know of the construction of the common order of minds does not lead us to suppose that this is the probable, I might say, the necessary, as well as the actual result ? And if it be so, is it a desirable result ? If the heart, having proudly asserted its own liberty, must at last become sensible of its own weakness, and under the influence of that weakness seek for a guide ; is it better that that guide should be some self-appointed one, some teacher, it may be, of great abilities and great learning, but who has devised, on his own authority and responsibility, some novel views of Scripture, or that the guide should be the collected wisdom of the wise, the learned, and the pious of many ages and generations ?

If these views be just, it is quite certain that the evil which the Liberal party deprecates (the obstinate adherence, I mean, to a human system,) will exist on their own plan, and to a greater degree than under the use of a public confession, while there will be the additional and tremendous evils of a variety of systems, of a total want of unity, of open and probably of violent opposition in the Church. If any doubt could be entertained on this matter before, the experience of Germany, for the last forty or fifty years, would entirely satisfy any impartial inquirer on this head. Few histories, perhaps, would afford more instances of ready acceptance of absurdities, and of obstinate adherence to them. Any thing more narrow, more bigotted, and more violent in defence of their peculiar opinions, and more uncharitable to their opponents, than the larger portion of the Rationalist writers, I may defy the history of the Church in any age to produce. After the experience which that history affords, I confess, therefore, I marvel not a little at such confident anticipations of speedy good, in a *spontaneous* return to all that is sound in faith and doctrine, as Mr. Pusey and Professor Sack seem to entertain, and at their earnest depreciation of the exercise of any authority whatever. (See pp. xiii. and 177.) Whatever may be the future powers and abilities of man, Church history, I think, shews pretty clearly that control and advice

and guidance are still necessary to his well being. It appears to me, at least, a little hasty to be so confident of recovery, when only the vehemence of the attack is over, and many fearful symptoms are still discoverable; and a little rash to be so very careless about leaving the razors or the pistols within reach, because the fit of delirium is just over.

I proceed to consider the case of those who are both able and willing to inquire. The question is, whether their desire for a full investigation of the truth will be repressed by the existence and use of Articles? I contend that it will not, but that on the contrary such inquiries will be at once encouraged, and most successfully conducted, under the operation of symbolical writings. Let it be remembered, in the first place, that subscription is never intended to prevent inquiry. When I take the prescribed oath, I declare my *present* belief—I cannot take the oath as to my future belief, for I cannot declare what I do not know. The obligations which subscription imposes are binding on me till I publicly retract my subscription; but there is nothing in the subscription, nor in the mind of the Church which imposes it, to prevent me from retracting my subscription at a subsequent period. There is consequently nothing in it to prevent me from discharging that duty which I owe to God, to the Church,

and to myself, by being much in the reading of Scripture, and ready to embrace that which due examination, conducted on right principles, and by the aid of sound learning, shall declare to be its meaning. I will not, indeed, affect to say, though I fear my character as a Protestant will suffer for such an opinion in some quarters, that I think it a very wise or desirable habit of mind, to study Scripture only for the sake of finding that I am and ever have been wrong. I would study Scripture (my ordination oath binds me to do so) in the earnest desire to know it more fully and perfectly; and if that knowledge should lead me to a conviction that my earlier views were wrong, I trust I should act such a part as my conscience dictates, a matter to which I shall presently come. If, then, in the act of subscription there is nothing which *formally* prevents inquiry, is there any thing which has in fact that tendency? I say again, that it encourages such inquiry. I cannot state my belief in this matter better than in the words of a German Protestant, now resident in France, Philip Stapfer*. 'Far,' says he, 'from doing prejudice to the progress of theology, and preventing its gradual

* Archives du Christianisme, for October, 1824. The whole of the *earlier* part of this article is quite admirable; but I differ from Stapfer in the line of conduct he recommends to those who doubt on what he considers minor points.

perfection, symbolical books lead directly to a development of this science, and constantly invite us to a new examination of its foundations. Checks are not fetters; they often act the part of a stimulant, and by directing our inquiries to a determinate end, prevent them from becoming vague, and remaining without any definite result. The human mind, in order to exercise its strength and gain a knowledge of the truth, requires a point of departure, a positive theme, an object of comparison with its ideas, which may be ever present, and may have weight from a value of opinion, or from its importance to society. The history of sciences abounds in examples of the salutary effects of a text which, so to speak, controls thought, which compels it to concentrate itself, and prevents it from losing itself in uncertain and disorderly efforts. It was by positive systems of legislation, by the Pandects, that the Cujaciuses, the Domats, and even Montesquieu was formed. It may be said that the Bible offers us this check—this food for the inquiring spirit—this first matter of investigation—this means of intellectual control, the efficacy of which we extol; and that it is to the study of the Bible that we owe the superiority of high speculation which characterises the philosophers of modern times, and the works which have created, increased, and consolidated the edifice of human knowledge in all the divisions of *morals* and *theology*. We do

not deny this efficacy of the documents of Revelation ; it was in that school, undoubtedly, that the great faculties of St. Augustin, of Calvin, of Bacon, of Grotius, of Pascal, of Bossuet, of Leibnitz, fortified, developed, and ennobled themselves, and that their genius learned to know and to improve itself. But it was by attaching themselves to a particular system, as a summary of our sacred books, consecrated by the meditation of their predecessors, or by the belief of some branch of the Christian family, that they found the opportunity and the means of knowing all the extent of their forces, and of applying them to the culture of the moral sciences, and to the advancement of religion. The examination, the attack, and the defence of these summaries of Christian doctrine, have given to the study of Scripture all the development to which the progress of theology is due. Without such summaries as confessions of faith of some extent, how could the friends of this great and rich science ever find their way in the labyrinth of diverging opinions among the interpreters of Scripture, or direct to any good purpose their researches towards what still remains to discover or correct ? The abrogation of formulas is certainly not the way to amelioration ; on the contrary (and here experience comes to the support of reason) it is the means of stopping all

progress, of wasting our resources, and paralysing all our efforts by the instability of their direction.'

These reasonings appear to me so conclusive, that nothing need be added to them. We may proceed, therefore, to the discussion of the other objections which are made to the use of Articles. One of the great propositions of the advocates for Protestantism is, that the Church is not to bind its hands by the resolution never to deviate from the letter of the faith of its earlier state; and Mr. Pusey reproaches me severely for thinking, as he states that I do, that the Church will *necessarily* decline unless it does so. It is maintained, not only by the German Divines, but by very many among ourselves, that the Church ought always to have and to exercise the power of correcting and ameliorating its belief as often as any new views require it; nay, this is thought the essence of Protestantism—this power of change and correction is deemed the atmosphere in which alone Protestantism can exist, and without which she expires or changes her nature. I cannot but think, my Lord, that this argument is one of those traps which our restless ingenuity and perverseness devise for our own annoyance—one of those many methods by which we contrive to throw away our happiness, and almost our existence, from

a childish fear of dangers that can never arrive. Let us state the matter clearly. If it is meant that a Church which sets out with laying down a rule of faith on all points, however numerous or however minute, is not to bind itself to an adherence to such a rule, I have this to answer again and again, that I do not defend the proceedings of such a Church in any way. It has begun by a grievous error, fatal to the peace of its members and to its own. A rule of faith laid down by any Church conducted on rational principles, must embrace *fundamentals only*; and the question I am about to consider relates to such a Church and such a rule of faith alone. I am not concerned to defend or argue about any other, but cheerfully give it up (as Mr. Pusey knows I have given it up totidem verbis, see p. 16, of my work), to the censure of the Ultra-Protestants. I am now about to inquire how far a Church, which has adopted a rule of faith of a rational kind, is to bind itself to an adherence to that rule.

Now, if the Ultra-Protestants put their assertion into plainer words, it would, I apprehend, amount to this and this only, that if the Church found her present doctrines to be false, she must not any longer assert them to be true,—if she found that they contradict what may appear to her hereafter

the clear sense of Scripture, she must not any longer assert that they express that sense. Do these gentlemen really imagine, that any one in possession of common honesty or common understanding will gainsay this? No, my Lord, if the Trinity is *proved* to be an absurdity, and the Atonement a falsehood—if it is *proved* that Jesus was a mere man, and that there is no Holy Spirit—nay, farther, if it is proved that the Scriptures are forgeries, and that there is no God in heaven, let us renounce these doctrines. No honest man, I apprehend, ever assents to any doctrines but because he feels that there is sufficient ground for believing them to be true; no honest man will maintain them after he has sufficient ground to believe that they are false; and the rule to be pursued by one honest man is to be pursued by that ‘congregation of faithful men’ which compose the visible Church. All this, my Lord, is willingly admitted; nor am I at all aware how the establishment of a confession of faith can interfere with it. When it becomes a matter of general conviction that the existing rule of faith is false, it will undoubtedly be changed. This would be admitted as willingly by every honest adherent of the Church of Rome. How decidedly soever the Romanist may assert, for example, the infallibility of the Church, he will tell you, with the most perfect sincerity, that he will

renounce the doctrine as soon as you can disprove it. In this sense, therefore, I certainly do not wish the Church to 'bind her hands,' nor to impose any doctrine after she ceases to believe it true. So much for theory; but if we look at the question *practically*, do all these admissions mean any thing? Will the Church ever change her doctrines? Are we to expect some new views of Christianity which have escaped all former ages. We are not arguing the case, be it again said, of the German Church, or of any other Church which has faulty symbolical books; faulty, I mean, in deciding on too many and too trifling points, and thus hazarding the happiness of individuals and her own peace. On this subject there is and can be no argument. The question is, whether a Church which, like our own, lays down a rule of faith only on points universally confessed to be fundamentals, will change that rule; or, in plainer words, whether a Church which, like our own, has got rid of all superfluous articles, which holds only what is essential to Christianity as at present understood, is to look forward to, and to provide for, an entire abrogation of the present system of Christian doctrine; whether it is to believe that for eighteen centuries the great mass of the Christian Church has been labouring under a delusion, in accepting what are now considered as fundamental doctrines? To say that these doctrines are *certainly* the

doctrines of Scripture, is indeed saying what we are not theoretically justified in saying, because nothing in which humanity is concerned is certain. We may be mistaken on every point on which we form an opinion; and it is our duty to be painfully alive to our own weakness and liability to mistake; but it is a folly and not a duty to believe that we may not arrive at a moral certainty and conviction of any truths, and that God did not intend us to act upon such conviction. But if this be so, it is obvious that if the exercise of the subtlest wits, the researches of the most extensive learning, the voice of all ages and of all countries cannot give us such a certainty, nothing can. I must, therefore, at whatever hazard, avow my belief that while Christianity lasts, our Church cannot change her opinions. Nor am I apprehensive, when I remember what latitude of discussion her Articles allow, that any evil will arise—that any of those who are capable of inquiry will be precluded from it by our Articles, nor that they will drive any one who is capable of taking a wide view to a narrow one.

The only question remaining for consideration is, whether the use of Articles is likely to cause hypocrisy and dissimulation in individuals who, for the sake of temporal advantages, may either profess or continue in the profession of doctrines which they

disbelieve. In the first place, it seems obvious that this evil, supposing it to exist, does not arise exclusively from the use of Articles. If any form of belief be professed, whether Christianity or Paganism, something like adherence to it in its ministers must be aimed at, though it may not be secured by Articles. It can make no difference in what way the object is gained ; its existence is the cause which gives rise to hypocrisy. But the evil may be looked at in two ways. If the mischief likely to arise to the Church from the introduction of hypocrites is regarded, I can only say that I know of no sovereign cure for dishonesty. There will always be found, while this state of things lasts, some base men whom no ties of conscience can restrain. If the widest range were given to opinions within the pale of Christianity, still there would be some men who would falsely assume the mask of Christianity for their own purposes. It is an evil undoubtedly, but an evil for which there is no remedy. But it may be said also, that Articles are a snare to tender consciences, or that men will either abstain from inquiry, or endeavour to suppress their conviction, from interested motives. I see no symptoms of any tenderness of conscience in such a state of things ; nor does this case appear to me to differ very widely from the rest. There is a plain rule of right in this matter, as well as every other, and if men will not

observe it, they are not to ascribe their situation to faults which arise from their weak or evil principles. Let no man subscribe without the strictest inquiry ; let him continue, as he is bound to do by every tie, to be much in the study of Scripture ; and let him, if that study shall lead him to doubt the correctness of any of those doctrines to which he has subscribed, again examine fully and fearlessly. If the result of his examination confirm his doubts, let him remember that there is but one course for him to pursue—that it is a matter of common honesty—and that there is as little doubt as to the necessity of pursuing that course, as there would be about the propriety of taking or retaining what belongs to another. A pause, however, and a delay are not only justifiable, but are a solemn duty ; for the step which he is about to take, in publicly renouncing his faith, will undoubtedly affect others as well as himself. He is bound, therefore, to ascertain that his change of opinion is not a passing one ; that it rests upon grounds which, after due time have been allowed, still appear satisfactory ; that he has given due weight to the authority of the Church ; in a word, that he has not determined rashly, hastily, or in an undue degree of veneration for his own opinion. When all this is ascertained, he has but one course, I repeat, as an honest man, to pursue. He must resign the situation, to which he was appointed in consequence of

his holding opinions which he holds no longer. If he will not do this, if he will not pursue the dictates of common honesty, I really know no cure for his want of principle; for the fault is clearly in the individual and not in the system.

I have thus stated the reasons for which it appears to me essential that some power of control should always exist in the Church. Those reasons are ultimately grounded on the imperfections of human nature, and the consequent necessity of retaining some power of obviating that imperfection. Mr. Pusey and Professor Sack, indeed, are indignant, as we have seen, at the supposition that the Gospel cannot do all by itself. They might, I think, have spared their indignation till they had shewn either that the Gospel is not to be spread and strengthened by the ministry of men, or that a miracle is wrought on every minister of the Gospel, by which he is saved from that imperfection which is the inheritance of our fallen nature. It is curious, too, to find Professor Sack saying that the necessity for deterring ministers from heresy, by binding them to Articles, ‘may often, perhaps always, exist; yet that where it does exist, it presupposes an inclination to these heretical aberrations.’ (P. iv.) Does Professor Sack, then, mean to confess, after all his indignation against me, that in spite of the Gospel an inclina-

tion to heresy *may often, perhaps always, exist?* It would be expedient, I think, before he condemns me so severely again, to inquire a little more accurately into his own views. These matters are, however, very painful to discuss. To say one word that shall apparently tend to the disparagement of the powers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, must be a source of the bitterest pain; but what can be done when men will claim for that Gospel more power than its Author ever attributed to it, and insist on its effecting that which was not in his contemplation?

A single remark will conclude what I have to say on Mr. Pusey's Preface. He objects to me that there were no symbolical writings in use for the first two centuries of the Christian æra. If Mr. Pusey means to make this assertion in any broad sense, if he means to say that the various Churches had not adopted any form of sound words for their guidance, I must beg leave to say that I have come to a different conclusion. I have no wish, however, to enter on any discussions not absolutely necessary, and shall, therefore, content myself with thus protesting against being supposed to acquiesce in Mr. Pusey's view. For the sake of argument, I am not unwilling to admit his assertion, but I confess myself wholly unable to appreciate its force.

Are we to argue, that because symbols were not used in one state of things, they are not requisite in another and a different condition ? It would be perfectly easy, and it is, therefore, perfectly needless, to point out the reasons why the *authoritative* establishment of public symbols * would have been impossible, humanly speaking, in the first ages of Christianity. They must be familiar to every beginner in ecclesiastical history. Equally familiar to him, too, must be the fact, that the evils which the use of symbols, where practicable, will prevent, flourished in high force in this very age : a consideration which, I confess, makes Mr. Pusey's reference to the period still more unintelligible to me. That the pure truths of the Gospel were taught in those days is true—that they will be taught to the world's end, with or without symbols, is equally true. But how easily they will be retained, and how rapidly they will be spread, will, I must still believe, depend, under God's blessing, on the choice of wise and pious means.

I now come to a consideration of Professor Sack's Letter, but I feel that I may happily spare my

* If Mr. Pusey will have the goodness to look to Bingham, (B. x. ch. 4.) he will perhaps find grounds for changing his opinion, or at least for doubting whether he can maintain his very positive assertion.

readers and myself the pain of dwelling on his general arguments on the propriety of control in religious matters. After the preceding remarks, I have nothing further to allege in favour of that control, but must leave Professor Sack's arguments to make what impression they may. Valeant quantum. I shall apply myself, therefore, very briefly to consider his particular objections against me. First of all, I cannot but express my surprise that a person who writes to all appearance so calmly and temperately, should not think that candour and fair representation of an antagonist are qualities on all occasions * equally necessary with calmness and temperance. That Professor Sack does not entertain this opinion will be sufficiently manifest from his first charge. He accuses me (p. ii.) of making an erroneous and unjust imputation, (viz. 'that the Protestant Churches of Germany, founded as they were on the authority of Scripture, *at the same time* permitted any one of their teachers and ministers to vary from it even in their public instruction, as far and as often as they pleased'), and of thus endeavouring to point out (p. iii.) 'an absurdity in the *fundamental principles* of the Protestant Churches.' The reader would naturally suppose from this statement that I accused these churches of laying down, in one page

* I have shewn above, that I am not unwilling to give Professor Sack credit for candour, as far as he will allow me.

of their symbolical writings, a positive rule of faith, and of giving full licence in the next to their Clergy to depart from it. The whole gravamen of this charge rests upon the essential words *at the same time*, which I have printed in italics. Now these words are the pure product of Professor Sack's imagination. They are his words, not mine ; and by means of them he has made me say what I never did say. On the contrary, I distinctly stated the extreme sternness with which adherence to the faith laid down in the symbolical writings was required even from laymen, for a very long period after the formation of the Protestant Churches. I then stated that adherence to these forms has since been entirely neglected, while the forms themselves are retained ; and I even endeavoured to shew when this license commenced. This proceeding I certainly characterized as an extraordinary absurdity on the part of the Protestant Churches : it seemed to me to be so when I formerly wrote, and it seems so still. Undoubtedly it is an absurdity only *in the practice* of these Churches ; and I never spoke of it, as Professor Sack makes me, as an absurdity in their fundamental principles. In strictness, perhaps, I ought to have introduced the words *in practice*, but after the full statements I had made as to the original sternness of adherence required by these Churches, could any one think such a distinction necessary ?

No man who writes with the intention of speaking the truth, and the truth only, can possibly be prepared for the spirit of which Professor Sack has given here an example. Controversy appears in its most odious form, when men dispute about words, not things ; when they endeavour to prove an opponent wrong in appearance, though they are compelled to confess him right in reality. Professor Sack is driven to this disagreeable necessity ; he is obliged to confess that in practice the license of which I complain has been introduced. He says, indeed, generally, that it has not been introduced so widely as appears from my work ; but he makes no specific statement on the subject, and he mentions no state nor district where subscription was required through the Rationalist period. The reader will do me the justice to observe, that I especially stated that I had only the authority of private persons for the assertion I made. But I now feel myself more confident in repeating it. I have made farther inquiries of private persons, who have assured me that, as far as they knew or had heard, subscription was not required during the period to which I referred ; not one of the most violent of my former German opponents impugns my accuracy on this account ; and even Professor Sack can state nothing definite on the subject. But let him take the matter in his own way—let us suppose that here and

there the examiners *did* require subscription, will he venture to assert that the practice was general enough to give any colour to the tone of thinking and writing? Would he like better to take the other alternative, and assert that subscription was as general recently as in the first days of the Protestant Churches? What are we to say, then, of the Rationalist tone which pervaded the lectures, sermons, and writings of the German Divines? If they did subscribe a confession of faith, it was certainly to very little purpose.

Professor Sack inquires, afterwards, whether it would be more unjust to argue from the cases in the English Church, where unprincipled clergy are allowed to hold their cures without punishment, that the English Church is inconsistent in appointing clergy to edify, and then permitting them to corrupt, their flocks, than it is in me to accuse the German Protestant Churches of inconsistency for laying down a rule of doctrine, and then allowing the ministers to depart from it? If Professor Sack is satisfied with the strictness of his analogy, it is not worth my while to animadvert on it. He forgets, however, that his facts do not support it. When the English clergy depart as generally from Christian practice as the German clergy did from Christian doctrine, I assure him I will not quarrel with any one who

accuses the Church of England of permitting profligacy in her clergy. Till then I must take the liberty of thinking Professor Sack's retort on me a warless weapon indeed. But this little carelessness as to supporting his analogies by the necessary facts seems a characteristic of this learned person. I find him arguing, (p. vii.) that as some of the German Rationalists, according to his account, were laymen, it is as unjust to accuse the German Protestant Churches of their errors, as it would be to accuse the Church of England Theology of Deism, because we have had a Hume, a Gibbon, a Tindal, and a Toland. Here again Professor Sack, very wisely for his argument, shuts his eyes to the facts. When he can shew that Hume was elected Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, that all the students in divinity crowded to the lectures of Gibbon at Oxford, and that these same students, as Ministers of the Gospel, greedily accepted and widely diffused the doctrines they imbibed from these Deistical divines, I will allow the force of his argument, but not till then *.

* In order to save recurring to this point, I would observe, that *very few* of the distinguished Rationalists have been laymen. Professor Sack's enumeration of *many* shrinks when he comes to names—to Reimarus, Becker, Buckholz, &c. But Mr. Pusey mentions (p. 137), Eichhorn, as one whose 'errors are not to be set to the account of German Theology, because

Professor Sack's next charge arises from his labouring under the same singular misconception as Mr. Pusey as to the object of my work. He says that I have not observed 'the distinction of the different terms and periods,' (p. viii.) when the various changes of opinion in Theology were introduced. Let me say again, and for the last time, that I was not writing a *history*, but representing the *state* of Protestantism in Germany at a certain period; and that my great object was to shew that one particular tendency prevailed through that period, manifesting itself indeed in various degrees and shapes, but still *the same* in essence. That this is allowed by Germans themselves, as well as stated by other English writers, I have shewn elsewhere; and if the point was proved by the citation of authors, some earlier and some later, I really have still to learn that there was any thing unfair in the line I took, or any thing likely to mislead my readers*. Professor Sack, on the

he was a philosophical not a theological Professor.' I miss here Mr. Pusey's accustomed candour. Does he mean to deny that Eichhorn lectured on Divinity in one of the most influential universities, Göttingen? What matter is it to what faculty he belonged if this was the case?

* Professor Sack mentions that I have put together Lessing, Schelling, and Steinbart, &c. 'without any other distinction than the often *incorrect* dates.' I am not much moved by a charge unsupported by proofs; and have only observed two or three very slight inaccuracies of this kind.

contrary, thinks the chronology of the matter most important; observing that authors thirty or forty years apart, ‘ may to the letter say the same thing, and yet the manner in which they say it, and the influence which it has upon the times, are by no means the same; the earlier have perhaps suggested as an experiment what has long since been discarded; or they have started that as philosophers, which only the more superficial writers have attempted to convert into Theology,’ &c. &c. All this sounds very well, while we forget the facts of the case; it is very true that on matters of great nicety or difficulty, we must look not only at the words spoken, but at the circumstances under which they were spoken, and the intention which dictated them. But in the case before me, there was no room for doubt or mistake. I can see no difference between him who, in the present day, gets rid of the miracles, makes the leading doctrines of the Gospel accommodations to Jewish fancies, and reduces Christ to a man, and him who did so thirty years ago. To speak yet more broadly, I can see no difference between him who endeavours to banish all immediate interference of God in Christianity now, and him who did so a century earlier. That is the great point to which Rationalism tends, and that was the point on which I animadverted. If A held that opinion in 1770, and B maintained it in 1810, I really think they are somewhat fastidious

in objecting to be classed together; the genus is all we want, we leave it to other hands to arrange and distribute the species. Professor Sack might borrow a lesson from Mr. Pusey on this point. After sketching the history of German theology down to the time of Steinbart, he adds, (p. 150.) ‘The work was now completed, and until a more earnest spirit should awaken the susceptibility for, and the need of pure Christianity, *the gradations of the several classes mattered but little*, whether, as Nösselt and others, they deprived the doctrines of Christianity of their high and efficacious import, or socinianized them with Teller and Spalding, or rationalized them with the followers of Steinbart. Nor can that mode of dismissing the evidences of prophecy and miracles, which, without expressing any unbelief in them, considered them as valid only for former times, well be considered as any additional step. It was but casting away the shell when the seed of future fruit was gone.’ And again, (p. 153.) ‘a minute account of the innovating Theologians would present only a series of modifications of the leading classes, differing in the degree in which they unnerved Christianity, or as to the portion of it which they admitted into their religion of reason, but agreeing in their general principles.’

Professor Sack next accuses me of not noticing the many opponents of the Rationalists, in fact of

naming only Storr ; whereas Storr, says he, was only the disciple, and afterwards the head of the whole school of Würtemberg and Tübingen. ‘ I ought,’ he adds, ‘ to have named the two Flatts, Süsskind, Bengel, Steudel, Reinhard, Knapp, Hess, Plank, Kleuker, Schott, and Schwartz.’ In order to shew the justice of charging me with the omission of the school of Storr, and several of the others, I beg your Lordship to take the trouble of reading the following extract from my notes, (p. 168.) ‘ Let me *again* here bear my testimony to the high merits of Storr, *whose school has been of the highest service in Germany*. Nor must I omit to mention the respectable names of Reinhard, and Staüdlin. Krummacher again, Lücke, Tholuck, (though he is somewhat enthusiastic) and Winer, have expressed their horror at the system. Many writers in the Magazine of Flatt and Süsskind, and the latter writer himself, have all opposed parts of it.’ I have elsewhere expressed my regret at the quite unintentional omission of the name of Knapp; but I confess myself unable to think highly enough of the general views of Hess or Plank, to have dreamt of mentioning them as valuable upholders of any sound views. It is clear, my Lord, after this specimen, that nothing which I can say or do, is likely to satisfy Professor Sack. We need not go farther than the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, to learn that when sentence against

us is to be pronounced, the being innocent of the crime alleged, is just as heavy a sin as the having committed it.

The last point which it is necessary for me to notice in Professor Sack's Letter, is his bitter complaint of the manner in which I have spoken of the union of the two Professions. The judgment which I have passed on this, ' appears to him to fix the stamp of misconception upon every thing else which is unclear in the work.' As the offence which my work has given has been by speaking too plain, and not by the use of ambiguous or *unclear* language, I shall not stay to enquire to how large a portion of it the charge of *unclearness* may apply; nor shall I animadvert on Professor Sack's equally logical and charitable decision, that because I have been wrong (in his opinion) on one point, I must have blundered in every point where he cannot quite clearly make out what my opinion is. Professor Sack's material remarks are, that the difference as to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, can only be retained in the symbolical books by a straw-splitting nicety;—and that no difference as to the doctrine of *election* ever existed in Germany, as the strict Calvinistic doctrine is not expressed in what he is pleased to call the symbol of the German Reformed Church, the Heidelberg Catechism. Hence he argues, that there was

no real difference in doctrine between the Churches, and that my attributing the union to indifference is most uncharitable. Now, in the first place, I must beg leave to set Professor Sack right in a matter of fact, and to express my surprise, that, as a German, he should require such correction. If he will take the trouble to turn to Augusti's 'Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum qui in Ecclesia Reformatorum auctoritatem publicam obtinuerunt,' (p. 641—643.), he will find that so far is his assertion incorrect, as to the Heidelberg Catechism being the *only* symbolical book in use among the Reformed, (and if his assertion does not mean that, it has no meaning) that down to the year 1817, (the period of the union in that quarter) the three following symbolical books, viz. Confessio Marchica, Colloquium Lipsiacum, and Declaratio Thoruniensis, were received by public authority by the Reformed Church in Brandenburg and Prussia, and subscription to them was originally required on the part of the clergy. However laxly that subscription might be enforced, these writings constituted the authorized Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church in this large portion of Germany down to 1817. Professor Sack has therefore mis-stated an important fact.

Let us next see how these books speak of the matter of *Election*. I shall cite the last only, because

the two first are written in German, the other in a language familiar to all my readers. The following, then, are the words of the Declaratio Thoruniensis (Augusti, p. 423.) ‘Denique docemus quidem, non omnes homines electos esse, et qui electi sunt, non ex præviso operum merito, aut prævisæ fidei in ipsis dispositione aut voluntatis assensu sed ex mera in Christi gratia electos esse ; certum etiam esse apud Deum electorum et salvandorum numerum.’ The German confessions speak the same language. It is true, indeed, that all endeavour to get rid of the notion of an *absolute decree of reprobation*, by supposing the Almighty to foresee the sins of those whom he dooms to condemnation. It is sufficient for me to show that they teach the doctrine of Election directly and positively. But next let us advert to the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Although in the present day it may suit the fashionable feeling to say, that there is no difference in this matter between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines ; I conceive it would be superfluous in me to enter on the proof of a point, which must be familiar to every student in Theology. It will be sufficient for me to shew that the Germans, in uniting the two professions, differed entirely from Professor Sack. I will take a case most favourable for him, that of Baden, where I am not aware that any symbolical book, except the Catechism of Heidelberg,

was used. I turn to a work called ‘Evangelische Kirchen-vereinigung in Grossherzogthum Baden nach ihren Haupturkunden und Dokumenten,’ published at Heidelberg in 1821, with authority of the proper department of the grand ducal ministry. This contains all the documents relative to the union. After a formal notice of the difference as to the Communion, we find in p. 12. (in sect. 5 of the principal Articles of Agreement signed by the ministers of both persuasions) the following declaration :—

‘As no separating difference exists in the *remaining* points of the doctrine of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches *, the General Synod unites in the doctrine of the Holy Communion, taught in the following positions, which are to be inserted in the instruction-book of the United Evangelical Protestant Church, without, however, wishing to bind men’s consciences with respect to the particular notions contained in them.’ Then follow eight questions and answers, giving a view of the doctrine agreed on as to the Holy Communion. Even in Baden, then, where there was probably no symbolical book, except the moderate Heidelberg Catechism †; the ministers of

* Of course this applies only to these Churches as existing in Baden.

† In the 7th Article on the Communion in the Declaratio Tho-

the two professions, in the formal act of union, expressly recognized the existence of a serious difference, a difference *actually separating the two Churches*, on this point, and thought it necessary to draw up a form to which each could assent; while Professor Sack assures us, that the appearance of a difference could only be retained on the books by a straw-splitting nicety. The reader must decide to which of these authorities he gives the preference, and at the same time he will decide with what justice Professor Sack has indulged in such harsh remarks on me. Had he understood my meaning, he perhaps might have spared them. Neither I nor any one could object to the union as it took place in Baden, where in the public symbolical books, there *was* no difference except on one point, and that point is *expressly provided* for in the act of union; and where that same act lays down distinct and full rules for the government, worship, ministry, &c. of the United Church. But Professor Sack has chosen to forget that the union took place under very different circumstances, in different places—that my censure expressly related to that majority* of cases where, to

runiensis, the Lutheran doctrine is expressly considered. See Augusti, p. 431.

* Professor Sack might with more justice have blamed me for speaking *universally* rather than *generally*, and for not excepting from my censure the case of Baden and any other, where

use my own words, ‘the principle of union was, that there was to be no discussion of articles of faith—and the union consisted in a community of churches and ministers, and an indiscriminate reception of the sacrament at the hands of these ministers.’ Writing at a distance from most of my own books and from any library, I cannot enter more at large on this matter, but will merely mention as an illustration of the method in which the union was effected in some quarters, that in one church visited by an English clergyman, there was an altar at the east end for the Lutherans, and a communion table in the centre for the Reformed*.

Professor Sack’s logic on the matter is quite beyond my comprehension. He thinks it most extraordinary that I should find fault with this union, when it has been so much favoured by the King of Prussia whom I praise. I can find no difficulty in supposing that a project may be favoured by one person from the purest motives, and by others from indifferent or evil ones. Neither have I said, that ultimately no good may arise from the union.

similar arrangements were made. In my second edition, I shall willingly admit and correct any casual errors into which I may have fallen.

* Adams’s Religious World displayed, Vol. I. p. 374, second edition.

I only contended, and I still contend, that where it has taken place without any discussion or understanding between the two parties as to the subjects on which they differed, it cannot be unfair to presume that they must think doctrines matters of no great importance. For even were the difference on the two principal points less than I concede it to be, the very fact of their not condescending to advert to those points, although they had for ages notoriously caused discussion and controversy, must, as they could not fail to know, lead their flocks to conceive that doctrines were matters of minor import in their eyes; and this error they obviously did not think it worth their while to correct.

Hitherto, my Lord, my task has been to act on the defensive. I speak with sincerity when I say, that it is with deep pain I feel myself compelled to change my operations, to enter on offensive measures, and to make a few animadversions on the tendency of Mr. Pusey's own work. Gladly indeed should I have left the task to others, but having been compelled to enter the lists against him, and having been the first to bring the subject of German Rationalism fully before the English student of Divinity, I could not think myself justifiable, if I neglected to enter my earnest protest against reasonings calculated to palliate some of the worst features of

German Rationalism, and to produce in the young student very unfriendly feelings to the system existing among ourselves. My Lord, I have already borne my testimony to Mr. Pusey's zeal for Christianity, according to his own views of it ; but I must add that he has, in my judgment at least, written with so little caution, that his views are susceptible of interpretations most unfavourable to himself, and likely to be most pernicious to others. Every man is undoubtedly entitled to demand that any casual declaration shall be interpreted according to the general spirit of his opinions ; but when we find declaration after declaration liable to the same misinterpretation, and capable of doing the same mischief, although he may, perhaps, still have a right to refer to his general opinions in his own vindication, he cannot complain of those who seek to ward off the mischief likely to arise from his incautious method of expressing himself, and who animadvert openly upon it. Mr. Pusey will therefore, I am sure, excuse me for doing so, and will do me the justice of believing that I war not with him, but with the apparent tendency of a large portion of his opinions.

Mr. Pusey's object, my Lord, is to give an account of the *causes* which led to the late horrid state of the German Protestant Churches, and he does so by taking a review of the history of these Churches

from the period of the Reformation. Before, however, I state what Mr. Pusey considers as the principal causes of Rationalism, I must, at whatever hazard of bringing down on myself the imputation of bigotry, make my serious complaint of an omission, which strikes me as most singular in the enumeration. Mr. Pusey is a minister of an Episcopal establishment—and yet he does not appear to consider the abrogation of this Apostolical form of Church Government in Germany, a matter even worth notice. The early Reformers in that country we know, thought themselves obliged by circumstances to give up Episcopacy—they extolled the fortune of our Church in being able to retain it—they lamented their own misfortune in losing it—and yet in his speculations on the causes of the strange errors which have sprung up there, Mr. Pusey passes over the loss sub silentio, as not likely to have had even a negative influence in fostering them. While every moderate and impartial mind must allow the justice of taking circumstances into consideration, it is yet not easy to justify men for departing from what they believe to be right on a matter of such importance. They who will not resist unto blood for the sake of important principles, cannot with justice either wonder or complain, if their cowardice is the parent of severe sufferings—sufferings, perhaps, sent by Providence as a warning

to themselves and others against a similar dereliction of what is owned to be right, and sufferings in the ordinary course of things, from the loss of those advantages which the pursuance of the right course would have brought. We cannot fail to see how exactly the second part, at least, of this description applies to the case before us. The benefits of the form of Church government to which I have alluded are most obvious, as they apply to the repression of that evil spirit under which Germany has been suffering. Had there been a legitimate and sufficient authority to control and calm the troubled ocean of absurdities there, and while it made allowances for the state of the times, to mark out in a brief confession the great outlines of the Christian system, and insist on adherence to them, much would have been spared which has now been endured. The right-minded would have found a centre and a rallying point, and the weak a support; the wavering would have been steadied, and the evil intimidated. Whatever positive causes may have led to the mischief, the want of this true form of Church Government has been, I am sure, negatively a most powerful aid and auxiliary to them. I cannot, therefore, but express my surprise, that Mr. Pusey as a philosopher, and far more, as the minister of an Establishment possessing a true form of Church Government, should not think its abrogation an element worth considering in

forming his opinion on the state of the German Churches. We are doomed to hear so much clamour in the present day, as to the extreme want of charity evinced by the expression of opinions which tend to unchurch large Christian congregations, that I am well aware I cannot express these opinions without incurring the charge. But truth must be spoken at all events ; nor does it want much resolution to speak it in the teeth of propositions, which, if applied to common morals, would render those who expressed them the laughing-stock of every bystander. It is, however, the less necessary for me to say any more on this head, as I am confident that the distinguished Prelate to whom Mr. Pusey's work is dedicated, must long ago have noticed to him this capital omission.

Having ventured to make this comment on a singular oversight in Mr. Pusey's views of the Causes of Rationalism, I proceed to enquire what those views really are. To the reader of modern German Divinity they will, I think, be quite familiar. Speaking at least for myself, I recognise the opinions which in more or less detail I have found in a variety of these authors. To sum up these opinions as briefly as I can, it seems determined by those who have become sensible to the mischief of Rationalism, and who wish to throw some share of the blame

of it off the writers of their own day, that the German Protestant Churches, from the time immediately following their early establishment to the period directly preceding the era of Rationalism, should be painted in the very blackest colours which fervid imaginations can suggest*.

It is certainly undeniable that the German Protestants, in the hope of stopping or checking the unhappy differences which burst out among them soon after the Reformation, introduced a mass of symbolical books, very far too large for any ordinary purpose, and that they required the utmost strictness of adherence to them†. On this circumstance the moderns have taken

* It is useless to give many instances of the recurrence of Mr. Pusey's opinions in these writers; they will be found in every liberalizing Theologian who has treated on the subject. We find the matter shortly stated in the life of Michaelis, probably written by Eichhorn, and published in his periodical work.

‘At the period of the Reformation, all the arts of interpretation were in full exercise. This state of things was followed by the arts of controversy. *Barbarism, however, as might naturally be expected, reigned in all the departments of Theology, until within about fifty years of the present day (1790—1800.)* Grotius made an effort to restore this state of things; but his mild and benevolent voice was drowned amid *the barbarous yells* of the German Theologians, led on by Calov.’ This will perhaps suffice.

† If we transport ourselves for a moment into that troubous

their stand, and because the measures pursued were not perhaps, with a reference to the future, the wisest, nor most advantageous, they have overlooked every thing which tended to modify or diminish the evil likely to result from those measures, and have insisted that they were ruinous to the cause of religion and piety, that they banished all practical Christianity from Germany, and caused the clergy to become mere bigotted Polemics, devoid of every thing like Christian charity, attached only to their confessions, ignorant and regardless of Scripture, negligent of every branch of clerical education, and zealous only in maintaining the rigour of the scholastic forms of proving and defending their opinions—monsters in short, *nulla virtute redempta*. These writers maintain, that the modern Rationalism is

period, we see that the removal of the control of the Roman Church very quickly gave rise to a crowd of senseless disputants, each setting himself and his own tenets up as the sole rule of right, and condemning his opponents with indecent clamour. Such a state of things could not be borne long; and whether it was the best way of putting it down or not, it was at least a very obvious expedient to forbid ministers to preach any but a strictly prescribed form of doctrine. The limits might be drawn too close for an enduring state of things; but even Mr. Pusey allows (p. 20) that the desired end was so far answered for the time that the existing contests were laid aside.

the natural fruit of this evil seed, and that from such unreasonable strictness a laxity as unreasonable would naturally follow, according to the regular laws of action and re-action. They thus seek to excuse in some degree the evils which they are obliged to confess, on the plea that the mischief arose from the excesses of that orthodox party which is now the loudest in complaining of them. This, too, is the 'head and front' of Mr. Pusey's theory. His book is, in short, a vehement denunciation of the evils of the ancient German orthodoxy, and attachment to system, couched, however, in terms so strong, or so careless, as too often to be applicable to orthodoxy elsewhere, and to attachment, however enlightened, to any system however excellent. In this respect, indeed, it merely echoes the clamour raised by the various German works of modern days, which have endeavoured to palliate the guilt of the Rationalists, and its reasonings are a novelty to the English reader alone. But the style and tone of the work sufficiently shew its German parentage. Frequently we find the very words of German* writers, and

* Thus, for example, pages 35, 36, 37, and part of 38, are mere translations of Schröckh and Twesten. I mention this to shew that Mr. Pusey has so close an acquaintance with the secondary sources of information, as in my judgment, to have taken (unconsciously) the whole colour of his opinions from them.

more frequently still the technical phraseology of the party*.

There is a point connected with this last observation, to which, as I must hereafter introduce Professor Tholuck's name in union with Mr. Pusey's, I am compelled to advert. About three or four months after the publication of Mr. Pusey's book, in turning over an American periodical, called the *Biblical Repertory*, I discovered, to my surprise, not only a considerable portion of the most material and remarkable facts in Mr. Pusey's work, following one another in the same order as they do there, but in some cases the very same reasonings and inferences from them. These occurred in a report of the lectures of the well-known Professor Tholuck, delivered at Berlin, translated and published with his permission. I thought it only candid to inform Mr. Pusey of the circumstance; observing that some explanation was certainly needed, if he wished to save himself from unpleasant animadversions, and that I should have great pleasure in affording him an op-

* Thus in p. 29, there occurs a sentence which has, I believe, gone the round of all these writers. 'Scriptural interpretation, instead of being the mistress and guide, became the handmaid of doctrinal Theology.' This very phrase I have given (Disc. II. p. 32,) from some one or other of these writers, I cannot now recall which.

portunity of making an explanatory statement in the course of these pages. In reply he informed me that, undoubtedly, the facts in question were taken from Tholuck's Lectures, the MS. of which had been lent to him, on condition of his not bringing forward the name of the author, and that it is the MS. alluded to in the close of his preface. Mr. Pusey entered into some farther explanations, but as I felt the business to be one of considerable delicacy, I requested him to let what statement he thought proper appear in his words rather than mine; and I accordingly received from him the letter which the reader will find as an appendix to this pamphlet. I felt myself obliged, as I have already said, to advert to this matter, which I should have preferred to pass over in silence, but as I am often combating opinions which are rather Mr. Tholuck's than Mr. Pusey's, I could not do so. I shall, however, quit this topic with observing, that Mr. Tholuck owes some explanation to Mr. Pusey. Mr. Pusey's work was printed in May or June, 1828, and up to that time, the prohibition as to the mention of Mr. Tholuck's name was, it appears, continued; while in the preceding January, this very MS. was published in America, not in part, but altogether, and under Mr. Tholuck's express permission.

But to return to the argument. I do not, as I

have before said, think myself competent to explain all the causes of Rationalism—but I cannot be blind to many of them. Nor can I fail to see that Mr. Pusey in adopting the theory of the Germans, has attributed all to *one* cause, and that evidently an insufficient one. He has, in short, been dazzled by a specious theory, which has blinded him to every thing beyond itself. This theory ascribes every thing to the re-action from ‘dead and contented orthodoxy,’ and the polemical spirit arising from it; and it, therefore, rests upon an assumption totally unsupported by reason and experience, viz. that all the movements of the theological world are independent on any external causes. It has justly been objected to Henke* (from whom I conjecture that Mr. Pusey very much derived the notion) that it is quite unreasonable to refer every evil and mischief to orthodoxyism—that it is an agent well deserving the consideration of the historian, but not capable of such mighty effects as he attributes to it. I cannot but believe that external causes had much to do with the strange scenes presented in Germany. Foreign literature, in general, and the writings of the French and English deists, in particular, produced much impression on German opinions. The extraordinary movement in all branches of literature in Germany itself, at the commencement of the last century, and not least among the Phi-

* By Staüdlin, in his posthumous work on Church History.

lologists, communicated itself to Theology. The influence of the talented but profligate and infidel court of Frederic, was most favourable to the progress of an unchristian spirit in the literary world. The peculiarities of German society and government at that time prevented men (speculative by their national character) from checking and directing their speculations, by a practical acquaintance with any of the more important affairs of business, of society, and of the state. The constitution of German universities, by making the stipend of the professors depend on the number of their pupils, unquestionably gave a sort of premium to striking speculation and brilliant novelty. Nor must we lay out of our calculations the miserable effects of desolating wars, tearing up society by the roots, and breaking up the most sacred and holy ties of life. All these things were, I am persuaded, active agents * in producing the dreadful evils which afflicted Germany for so long a period in the last and present century. The phenomenon is so curious that I need not apologise for these remarks, nor for endeavouring to shew, as I shall now do, that Mr. Pusey's view which attributes all to one solitary agent, or at most attributes a very slight influence

* Some of these causes have been well developed by Frederic Schlegel in his valuable work on Literature, and some in two admirable articles by Stapfer, in the Archives du Christianisme, for Nov. and Dec. last.

to one or two of the causes I have enumerated*, is narrow, unsatisfactory, and fallacious in its statements. I wish then to point out that more evil is attributed to the polemical spirit which prevailed, than on a fair consideration of the mischief of such a spirit can be justified—that the extent of that spirit is overstated, that the ignorance and negligence of the various branches of study is exaggerated, and that on these and other grounds, the argument with respect to re-action is not tenable. I shall thus shew that orthodoxy is not quite the demon which Mr. Pusey makes it, and that his picture of an orthodox body of clergy, is rather like a caricature than a faithful representation. It is indeed a horrid picture, and I cannot but wonder that Mr. Pusey himself was not startled by it on the score of charity, when he remembered that he was describing not a few particular offenders, but almost the whole body of the German Lutheran Ministry for a period of nearly two centuries. That they were bigotted, violent, implacable, cruel, ignorant of every branch of clerical knowledge, and regardless of Scripture truth, that they were not only careless about vital Christianity, but that they ruined and destroyed it—that their distinguishing quality, in short, was a blind and bigotted adherence to the letter of their system—

* See especially his note in p. 129.

are statements which, in various forms, are repeatedly made.

My reply to Mr. Pusey then is as follows. He seems to consider it as a ruled case that there can be no Christianity where there is a polemical spirit, and that when he has established the existence of such a spirit, he has done much to destroy the character of the early Lutheran Church. Now I willingly admit all the evils of controversy. But I must add that there are circumstances where controversies and vehement controversies must of necessity arise, and that it is not quite just to neglect the enquiry whether there were such circumstances in the case before us. I am persuaded there were, and I appeal to the history of the times, in confirmation of my opinion. The variety of petty states, the different systems pursued in each, the perpetual contact of the two Protestant systems, and the vigilance of the common enemy of both, made controversies quite unavoidable. But if they be so, can Mr. Pusey justify the passing so harsh a sentence on men, who were at first driven into controversy by a sense of duty, even if circumstances fostered a stronger spirit of controversy than was absolutely necessary. I must next ask whether it is true in fact, as Mr. Pusey seems to think, that controversy and Christian piety cannot exist

together ? The polemic, I allow, especially the angry polemic, is no amiable character; want of charity, and bitter judgments of our adversaries are, I confess, unlovely and unchristian. But that they who have been guilty of these faults are no Christians, that they have no perception of the beauty of Christianity, and no love for it, and that they shew forth none of its spirit in their lives, are inferences which I could not make without pronouncing a sentence of equal condemnation on every one whose conduct is ever inconsistent with his Christian principles, that is to say, on all mankind. When I remember that even the best and wisest men are liable to delusion, that most men are too often under its influence in all their judgments, and unconsciously swayed by party feelings; when I remember that the frailty of our poor nature often subjects even the kindest and best of us to some transport of anger and of bitterness, and that, pass by a little space, and the eye turns with the kindest look, and the hand is stretched with the sincerest kindness towards those with whom we may have been engaged in no kindly warfare, I at least cannot join in Mr. Pusey's severe judgment. Even he, on one occasion, honestly states that a bitter polemic was the author of some of the most beautiful and pious hymns in the German church. To condemn the inconsistency thus displayed may be

praiseworthy, but to deny the possibility that they who are guilty of it can be Christians, is to exclude mankind at once from the privilege of entering the pale of Christianity. I would rather feel with Horsley that they who in the frailty of their nature, or under the excitement of circumstances, have indulged in the exercise of unkind thoughts and words, have, nevertheless, often and often, when the period of anger was past, on their bended knees offered up their earnest prayers, that whatever of carnal wrath might have mingled itself in their fierce contention, might be forgiven alike to themselves and their antagonists. Nor let it be said, that the Christianity which has not taught men to subdue their evil passions is of no avail. Let it rather be remembered, that that great work is not effected at once; and that they who, in the flower of their age, and the heyday of their blood, may have been often but too fierce in their strife, and their controversy, have, as the spirit of Christianity took a deeper hold, laid aside by degrees every evil and angry feeling.

But whatever judgment may be formed on this point, and on the evils of a controversial spirit, I must contend that Mr. Pusey has obviously much overstated its extent in Germany, as well as that of the adherence to the letter of the symbolical books. Let us suppose that the plea I have put in on the score of hu-

man frailty, of party violence, and of difficult circumstances, was not available, and that the full force of Mr. Pusey's censure was justly directed against all the persons whom he has mentioned, yet to what will this amount? Let us allow that there are a few violent, stern, and bigotted writers, and leaders of a party, (and Mr. Pusey at all events proves no more) are we, on that account, to charge all these faults on every individual of the party to which they belong? In the especial case of a Church, are we really to be told, that the working clergy have all the passions and the feelings of the polemics, who are fighting their battles in the world? How many would leave the places of education, which were often the scenes of contest, with little interest in those contests; how many would lose what little interest they might have felt, in the busy scenes of life in which they were to engage, and in the engrossing discharge of ministerial duties? When a careless by-stander might have thought the Church of England shaken to the foundations by the storms of the Bangorian controversy, how few, in fact, of the working clergy took any share in it; how few cared at all about it; how dim and distant was the warfare to almost all but the immediate combatants!

The latter remarks are especially applicable to the other faults with which the German ministry is

charged, their rigid adherence, I mean, to dry scholastic forms, and to the minutest turns of phrase in the symbolical books. Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that all this existed in the public teachers and in the polemical writers to the fullest extent. How unjust and how unreasonable would it be to infer that the same spirit prevailed, to any injurious degree, in the numberless ministers who were withdrawn from all the excitements which cannot but exist where large bodies of men are congregated, and which tend to keep up all the peculiarities and distinctive features of parties and of systems? These are truths to which Mr. Pusey himself is not blind when they support his own views, for he tells us (p. 147,) that the working clergy were the principal opponents to the *early* out-breakings of Rationalism, inasmuch as ‘their difficult practical duties perpetuated the sense that something more was necessary than *doctrinal speculation*, or a religion of nature.’ Well and truly has he so said! How marvellous is it that he should be blind in the one case to what he so clearly perceives in the other. The working clergy might have had the truths of Christianity presented to them in a cumbrous and awkward form in the Lutheran systems of divinity; but Mr. Pusey, I apprehend, would not deny that those systems conveyed faithfully the great outline of the Christian scheme.

Are we, then, to be gravely told that they who had been taught to reject some Christian doctrines and condemn others, nay, to look on the whole scheme with doubt and suspicion, would be recalled to a better mind by the sanctifying duties of the ministry; and yet that those duties would not enable nor induce the true and sincere believer to cast away the trammels of scholastic forms, when it was his duty to apply the precious truths which they enveloped to the broken heart of the mourner, of the penitent, or the dying sinner? Mr. Pusey, I know, perpetually declares that unbelief is a more curable disease than 'contented orthodoxy'; and if his hatred to orthodoxy will induce him so entirely to shut his eyes to the truth on this subject, it must be deep and deadly indeed.

I have thus far gone on general grounds only, and referred only to the common experience and judgment of mankind. But I must next allege that the theory which Mr. Pusey advances, is not at all supported by facts *. His work is so brief, that

* The reader will, I trust, remember that I go much farther, and maintain that it *cannot* be so supported; in a word, that I have an high opinion of the early German divines, with all their faults. Whether I am wrong in that judgment, must be decided by those who will examine their works. But I disdain special pleading; and if I thought that Mr. Pusey's cause was good, I

as well as the report has been at my disposal, I am able to tell you the more accurately what it is that Mr. Pusey means in those he has written. But I prefer to say that this is not the case. In his opinion, the very best judgments which he has given of the works which he considers as specimens of the school of Wittenberg, therefore, are those in which he is not assisted by the authorities of Wittenberg himself. For he tells us in his preface, that he was at a loss from many works, and that he therefore resorted to mediate authorities. I can have no possible right to judge of the extent of Mr. Pusey's agreement with the views of the early divines of whom he speaks. But, as I have told before I may say always what he says of them, and what he quotes from them, in Schröckh, in Krüger, or in Weizsäcker. I complain very seriously that in this paper I only the unavoidable remarks which these writers make on any author of whom they are speaking, and omits every thing which they say in his favour; and I think that he thus makes out a case which goes very far beyond the truth.

Mr. Pusey commences with a notice of the system of interpretation of the early German divines; but his allegations are too indefinite to require any special notice. It would not waste my time in shewing that his proofs were bad or incomplete,

cial notice. His general charges would, indeed, be sufficiently answered by a bare recital of the names of those great writers, whose works and whose learning command the respect of the critics of the present day. I pass, therefore, to his notice of the writers on dogmatics.

First let us take the instance of Calov. The account which is given of the 'Systema locorum Theologicorum' of that writer, (p. 35) is copied, with some omissions, from Schröckh, with the single exception of the following remark, 'that it is superfluous to state the polemical and bitter character of the work of one who deemed it necessary to refute, step by step, the commentary of Grotius.' Now when Schröckh, from whom Mr. Pusey has taken his matter, directly refers him to Buddeus (an author of whom Mr. Pusey makes constant use) why does Mr. Pusey omit the very strong testimony which Buddeus gives as to the work in question? In direct contradiction to Mr. Pusey's statement of the *unscriptural* tendency of the age, Buddeus says, (in speaking of that work and its author) 'Laudandum in eo maximopere quod Scripturæ cum primis habuerit rationem, et in ejus testimoniis, quæ magno numero adducit, omne causæ præsidium collocaverit;' and again, 'In ipsa dogmatum tractatione Calovius equidem sequitur methodum caussalem, seu Aristotelico-Scholasticam, jam tum receptam; *ad reliqua*

tamen Theologiae Scholasticæ vitia non adeo propensus est, quin potius Scripturæ ubique, quod jam antea in eo laudavimus, urget auctoritatem.' (Isag. p. 357.)

What again can be more harsh or uncandid than the way in which Mr. Pusey speaks of Calov's examination of Grotius? What is the work thus spoken of? Is it a mere spiteful diatribe against Grotius? On the contrary, it is a most laborious, and in the judgment of Buddeus, one of Mr. Pusey's favourite authorities, and of Simon, a sufficiently liberal divine, a most judicious and useful exposition of the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament. In this great work, Calov, says Buddeus, 'has omitted nothing which can tend to vindicate the integrity of the text, to solve difficulties, and to clear the literal sense of Scripture, especially in obscure passages; and he deserves especial praise for looking for traces of Christ in Scripture—for his admirable vindication of the prophecies relating to our Lord, which Grotius, after the example of the Jews and Socinians, had used all his genius to pervert and distort, —and for his sound exposition of these in their true sense *.' Is it then right, I must ask, that Mr. Pusey

* Buddeus Isag. p. 1474. Weisman says, that some have thought that the remarks on Grotius were out of character in a commentary, and that, in Spener's opinion, Calov often says the same as Grotius, and sometimes not so well. For himself, he

should thus calumniate Calov, and represent a great, a laborious, and learned exposition of Scripture, as a mere spleenetic and uncharitable attack on Grotius? Why did he thus pass by the evidence of Buddeus, to whom on other occasions he so frequently refers?

But let us look on to the next page. Having mentioned and condemned the *Systema Theologiae* of J. A. Scherzer, and copied an extract from it given in Schröckh, Mr. Pusey adds, ‘ Yet these books satisfied all the wants of that age ; an acquaintance with the Scholastic Terminology and the topics of controversy, with a copious collection of Biblical passages, whose relevance was a point of inferior importance to their numbers, was all which the ordinary Theologian required ; and the favourite class-book of the age, that most frequently commented upon and orally expounded, was the dryest and most meagre, König’s *Theologia*,’ &c.

I cannot read this passage without surprise and

adds, that though he may not give the same unbounded praise to the work as some do, ‘ *absit tamen, ut operi laboriosissimo, et in suo genere utilissimo doctissimoque laudes suas detrahamus.*’ He notices only one other work of this great writer, and though evidently not liking him, mentions, that in that work he did more justice to his opponents (the Arminians) than others of their antagonists, by clearing them of charges brought by those others against them. This should be weighed against Mr. Pusey’s criminations.

concern. To say that these books (Mr. Pusey, by the way, is speaking only of one) satisfied all the wants of the age, is a mere gratuitous assertion, an assumption of the matter in dispute. It is the more singular, as only just below the passage extracted from Schröckh, that writer mentions two other works (those of Höpfner and Hollaz) with great praise, as free from many of the defects of Scherzer, and adds, that these better works were extremely well received.

The observation that ‘the relevance of the Biblical passages was reckoned a point of inferior importance to their number,’ is Schröckh’s. He applies it to one writer, König, and it may be with justice; but with what justice, or what charity does Mr. Pusey extend it to all the divines of the age? With what justice and what charity does he state that the *favourite* class-book, that *most frequently* commented on, &c. was the *dryest* and the *most* meagre, when Schröckh, from whom the account is taken, only says that, dry and meagre as the treatise was, it was used in *many* places for a lecture-book? It is impossible, I think, to justify such exaggerations, or to hope that the work which contains them can tend to the discovery of the real merits of the case. In the note again Mr. Pusey says, that Buddeus calls this very work of König, ‘sceleton quoddam sine succo et sanguine.’ What Buddeus really says is

this, ‘Paucis quidem et nervose, multa auctor complexus est; sed per nimium brevitatis et ἀκριβείας studium effecit ut skeleton aliquod exhiberet, succo omni et sanguine destitutum.’ Surely it would be mere justice to give the praise with the blame; and in mentioning the fault, not to omit the reason which in some degree palliates it.

In the same way, in page 38, Mr. Pusey gives Twesten’s severe judgment of Baier, but he omits what Twesten adds, and what takes away the sting of his remark, viz. that ‘on a nearer view of the work, much of the disgusting effect of the first impression wears away.’ In the severe note again on Hutter, p. 22 and 23, the very favourable opinion of Twesten (p. 234) who is usually one of Mr. Pusey’s chief authorities, is wholly passed over.

If Mr. Pusey’s judgment of Calov, of Scherzer, of König, of Baier, and others, were given as the fruit of his own independent reading, no one could blame him for stating his impressions of the character of these writers, however unfavourable that impression might be. But if he uses the extracts, the remarks, and the very turn of phrase of former critics, I certainly do think him bound to give what they say *for*, as well as *against*, the authors whom they criticise. His work, as I have already said, can,

from its brevity, present at best but an imperfect view, but it ought not to have been a mere party view.

So far I have only referred to the part of Mr. Pusey's work where he is speaking of the dogmatical writers of the 17th century. But the view which he gives of the state of other portions of Theological learning, is given in the same spirit. After a few lines translated from Twesten to explain the former technical division of Christian duties, and the principles of Christian virtue, the whole notice which Mr. Pusey takes of the topic of Christian Ethics is as follows. ‘Christian moral made as a science no progress, and was for the most part a relic of the old casuistry. One work alone (Schomer's Specimen Theol. Moralis, 1690) contained any traces of scientific method. The rest are very * moderate productions. “In the midst of the vehement Theological controversy, (says the Ecclesiastical Historian) which then divided the whole Evangelical Church, was neither time nor room for the scientific treatment of Theological Moral.”’ (P. 38.)

To this is added the following note. ‘Buddeus states the same fact and the same ground for the degeneracy and defects of books of edification. Fuit

* Schröckh, from whom this phrase is taken, says ‘moderate,’ not ‘very moderate.’

ceteroquin jam sæculo (Mr. Pusey has omitted the word *decimo*) sexto ea temporum infelicitas, ut in certamina et intestinas dissensiones raperentur prætantissima ingenia; unde (it should be *indeque*) contingebat ut qui vitæ morumque præcepta inculcabant minus sapere (Mr. Pusey omits *reliquis*) viderentur.' There is another sentence quoted, saying that the writers of the time alluded to were also held in contempt, as having written for the sake of lucre or old custom, &c. Now it is a little singular, that Mr. Pusey's attack on German Theology relates to the *seventeenth* century, whereas the passage quoted from Buddeus refers to the *sixteenth*, and that writer goes on to state, that as the evils of this state of things were felt at the beginning of the next century (viz. the very *seventeenth* of which Mr. Pusey speaks so contemptuously) there arose in that century first the great Arndt, then the admirable J. Gerhard, ('qui cum systematica, in qua nemini secundus est, asceticam theologiam sedulo conjunxit,') and then a whole host of others, who felt and endeavoured to remedy these evils. Here then Buddeus directly contradicts Mr. Pusey on the very point which he is called to prove, and so far from speaking, as Mr. Pusey alleges, in the same way as Schröckh, of the state of the science of morals in the 17th century, expressly declares that it was very much improved.

I now come to Mr. Pusey's account of the deficient style of preaching in the Lutheran Church. The whole history of the preaching of the German Church from the Reformation, is dispatched in a few sentences. They consist of an *assertion* that polemics *seem* to have swallowed up all other interests—that no distinguished preacher, except Mathesius, is mentioned among the successors of Luther—that only one writer on the subject (and he just after Melanchthon's time) extended his views beyond the external arrangement of Christian oratory—that the history of all the controversies shews that intemperate disputation on abstract questions had largely displaced Christian instruction. This is followed by a statement of Tholuck's, that 'this had become systematic early in the 17th century—that the preacher not unnaturally taught that in which alone he had been instructed—and taught it in the same scholastic terminology in which he had received it.' This meagre collection of inferences and suppositions, of what the style of preaching would be, rather than of facts shewing what it was, is deemed sufficient by Mr. Pusey and Professor Tholuck, to give a faithful picture of the preaching of some thousand ministers for a very long period *.

* I can make nothing in the shape of proof out of Professor Tholuck's statements, when I compare them with his dates. He

It is closed very curiously by three specimens of sermons, from which we are to learn ‘the usual subjects,’ ‘the spirit,’ and ‘the style’ of the preaching during this long period. I confess myself wholly unable to comprehend the style of reasoning pursued here. The first preacher mentioned is James Andrea, evidently a professed polemic *; who published a course of sermons against the Papists—Zwinglians—Schwenkfeldians and Anabaptists. ‘These,’ says Professor Tholuck, ‘may furnish a specimen of the usual subjects of these discourses.’ The question we wish decided is, whether the usual style of preaching among the mass of the German clergy was polemical, and to resolve our doubts, Professor Tholuck brings forward the work of a professed polemic! Then the charity of the German Church during the same long period, is disposed of by a single extract, of five lines in extent, from a preacher †, not even mentioned, I think, by Schröckh, by Buddeus, or by Weisman, but

is trying to shew the state of things in the 17th century. Yet out of the three instances alleged, two at least (for I can find nothing about Hermann of Brieg) belong to the 16th century. The first set of Sermons mentioned, was actually published very soon after the middle of that century, and about twenty years after Luther’s death.

* I presume that this is the James Andrea, who with five others, was mainly concerned in drawing up the Formula Concordiae. If I am right, his love of polemics is not questionable, and Professor Tholuck’s selection is the more singular.

† Artomedea of Königsberg.

apparently brought to light by Professor Tholuck's diligent researches. I am still more surprised at the last specimen adduced. There was a person it seems, called Hermann, of Brieg in Silesia, who preached a Sermon on the History of Zacchæus, and took for his text, ' he was little of person.' 'The division of the sermon was—1. The word 'He,' teaches us 'personæ qualitatem.' 2. 'Was,' 'vitæ fragilitatem.' 3. 'Little,' 'staturæ parvitatem.' The practical application was, 1. *Zacchæus est informator de varietate operum Dei.* 2. *Consolator parvorum.* 3. *Adhortator ut defectum nostrum virtute compensemus.*'

This is an excellent jest-book story, but I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, that the absurdities of one absurd person should be adduced as a proof of the style of preaching of many thousand perhaps pious and excellent men. What if I were to cite a sermon from Gen. xliv. 1. 'Fill the men's sacks with food as much as they can carry,' in which the use made by the preacher of the text is to shew that 'great sacks and many sacks will hold more than few and little ones—For look how they came prepared with sacks and beasts, so they were sent back with corn. The greater and the more sacks they had prepared, the more corn they carry away. If they had prepared but small sacks and a few, they had carried away the less *.' What if I were to ad-

* Eachard's *Grounds and Occasions*, p. 60.

duce another sermon, where from Christ's making a scourge to drive the money changers out of the temple, the preacher deduced the useful conclusion, that ' it was lawful to make scourges in the temple, and to use them there too * ? What if I were to bring from the same authority, not one but twenty, even more ludicrous still †, as specimens of the style of preaching of the times which could boast a Saunderson, an Alistree, and a Taylor ? What, I say, would be thought of my judgment and my candour, and yet what else has Professor Tholuck done here ?

I have spoken of Professor Tholuck, for in good truth these three instances are simply transcribed from his Lectures by Mr. Pusey. In Professor Tholuck's case, these instances were, I doubt not, the fruit of his own reading, and they, therefore, certainly present his judgment, though on grounds not broad enough to convince others. But why does Mr. Pusey

* Eachard's Grounds and Occasions, p. 61.

† Poor Hermann of Brieg in dwelling on *was*, may be easily matched. Eachard gives us (p. 59,) a long passage from one sermon on the word *and*; and mentions (Some Observations, p. 87) a sermon from the text, ' *But his delight is in the law of the Lord,*' where after noting that every word is full of emphasis, the preacher speaks, ' *This bot is full of spiritual wine ; we will broach it and taste a little, and then proceed.*'

state that 'it is of course impossible to multiply instances,' when he is giving us the fruit of another person's researches, and not his own? He concludes what he has to say by mentioning that there were some splendid exceptions, such as Arndt, J. V. Andreä, and J. Gerhard, but that Schröckh says these were but exceptions, and influenced the whole but little. Why did he not add what Schröckh says, two or three pages before, when giving this list of preachers, viz. that it is consolatory to find in the midst of all the evils of the period, men who though not to be imitated in every thing, yet preached (and set the example of) Sermons composed with so noble an aim, that they could not fail to produce a happy impression in innumerable instances. This is the point for which I contend. There was good mixed with the evil which tempered and redeemed it. Mr. Pusey himself mentions that Spener introduced a far better and more Christian style of teaching, and that his disciples so completely carried it on, that the older method fell at once among those who became acquainted with a more living Christianity. Mr. Pusey then has given us no sufficient proof of the existence of the evil he complains of—and has directly stated that, even if it did exist, after a time it was remedied. From this quarter, therefore, no re-action could proceed.

Let us proceed, however, to give the principle

of re-action, on which Mr. Pusey places so much reliance, a little closer consideration. I have no hesitation in admitting, that where any opinions or principles are pushed further than reason or justice sanction, and are advocated with violence, and at the expence of right feeling and propriety, so entire and utter a dislike to them arises, that very frequently opinions the most opposite, and as little sanctioned by truth and reason, are embraced with eager vehemence. Not only does a small knowledge of human nature show us the probability of such a result, but experience has borne witness to it also. Ultra-Calvinism has frequently been the parent of Socinianism, and even of infidelity. But I doubt whether we do not deceive ourselves, in some degree, in this case, by the use of a word. It is a very different matter whether we hold extravagant opinions, and force them on others to their disgust, or whether we maintain moderate opinions, and allow no departure from them. It does not appear to me to be at all clear, that because re-action takes place in the first case, it will take place in the second also. Experience cannot furnish us with any lesson here, and the probabilities of the case would rather lead us to suppose, that unless some peculiar circumstances should cause a sudden break-up of the system, a due relaxation of all unnecessary control would gradually take place, as the circum-

stances which had at first called for it had passed away. This was actually the case in the German Protestant Churches, as I shall presently show, although the admission would entirely overturn the theory offered by Messrs. Tholuck and Pusey. We accordingly find it stated in Mr. Pusey's work*, that these churches maintained the same rigid control, and the same dry scholastic forms, as they had assumed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, down to the middle of the eighteenth, when Rationalism first began to show itself. This position is,

* See among other places Sack's Letter, p. viii. near the bottom; and Mr. Pusey, p. 6. also near the bottom of the page; p. 50; p. 114; p. 119, 20; p. 140. The only proof I see attempted on this point, is in a note from Semler (p. 140, 141,) in which that writer gives a sketch of the state of things in his own day. But when Semler's opinions and career are remembered, he cannot be considered as sufficient authority. I do not accuse him of dishonesty. But he, like all men, would exaggerate the defects of the party to which he was opposed, and (as is obviously the case in the statements extracted from him by Mr. Pusey) would charge the occasional follies of an individual on a system. Sebaldus Nothunker might be almost as well taken as a picture of the manners and feelings of the German Clergy, as Semler's writings of their opinions. I complain of Mr. Pusey in this respect very seriously. He has in the same way given all Spener's statements, without a hint that what fell from that very good, but enthusiastic man, must be taken with very considerable qualifications.

indeed, perfectly essential to the views advocated in the volume before me, because it would be ridiculous to suppose, that re-action would arise from a system which had long passed away. But how does such a position agree with the real state of the case? how does it consist with the statements made by Messrs. Tholuck and Pusey themselves? I will venture to assert, that it is totally inconsistent with them. Let us briefly advert to the real facts, and they will show us, that a gradual relaxation of the stiffness of which such bitter and exaggerated complaints are made, had obviously, and according to Mr. Pusey's own showing, taken place, and that his arguments are directly negatived by his facts.

In the first place, we have it in direct evidence, that the very oath of subscription itself was altered at a very early period; that even before Spener's time, the custom of subscribing to the confessions of the Lutheran Church, 'as far as they agreed with Scripture,' had been introduced—a pretty material relaxation indeed!

Let us next see what direct effects were produced by writers who saw and lamented the evils of the existing system. That I may not be supposed to exaggerate them, I shall use Mr. Pusey's own words, as far as I possibly can.

First of all we find (p. 35), that there were two theologians, Prætorius and Arndt, the one of whom died as early as 1610, the other in the following year, who were shocked at the substitution of ‘dialectic disquisition, for practical Christianity.’ Of the first of these, Spener tells us, says Mr. P., that there were ‘very many instances of pious and orthodox men, who, next to Scripture, ascribe almost all their Christian knowledge to him.’ Even at this early period then, we have Spener recognizing the fact, that there were *very many* who studied Scripture for the sake of getting a practical knowledge of Christianity. But on Prætorius I shall not dwell, but proceed to Arndt, whose writings, according to Mr. P., had ‘a *very wide, permanent influence*,’ though ‘the largest results of it were late, and long after his death.’ Though at first attacked, he ‘was cleared of all error of moment by subsequent divines of his own church.’ His ‘immediate influence seems to have been among the laity;’ but it cannot have been small among the clergy, when we find that he formed (as Mr. Pusey’s note mentions) the author of ‘one of the most valued, edifying books of the time,’ (Scriven) who was elevated to the highest dignities of his profession (superintendent and court preacher), and H. Müller, who was one of the most vigorous opponents of the ancient and rigid adherence to the symbolical books.

Though censured on that account by some, Müller was defended (according to Weismann's testimony, cited by Mr. Pusey himself elsewhere, p. 49,) by *several of the celebrated divines of his day*; nay, it is testified by Buddeus, that his writings were valued by almost all; and by Mr. Pusey, that one of them 'long continued to be one of the principal practical works of Germany.' Here then we have Arndt, the writer of a work which caused so much notice as to be 'translated into every language of Europe,' producing a very wide, permanent influence, not only on the laity, but obviously on the clergy also; for we have one of his disciples attacking the old system, and yet defended by several of the celebrated divines of his day.

Let us remember next the controversy excited by the opinions of Calixtus—that *a whole university* (Helmstadt) partook of his opinions—that in Mr. Pusey's words 'many of his opinions produced enquiry—that *historical investigation and a sounder Scriptural interpretation commenced through his example, instruction, or principles* ;—and that in his separation of essentials from non-essentials, his writings against needless controversy, and his opposition to a dead faith, he directly prepared the way for the exertions of Spener.' (pp. 65 and 66.)

But the case of Spener is the strongest. That very good, but not always very wise man, was utterly dissatisfied with the existing state of things in the Church. Nay, it is from his quiver that Measrs. Tholuck and Pusey have drawn some of their choicest weapons, having forgotten, apparently, that his representations were made under the operation of the most violent party-feelings. His violence, his exertions, and their extraordinary success, are however most valuable arguments for me. Mr. Pusey himself gives sufficient evidence of that success for my present purpose. He tells us that Spener was valued and favoured by the princes of Germany (p. 69); that the publication of his Sermons, aided by his example, *formed a new æra in Christian preaching* —and that the *widest sphere* was opened to the pure biblical instruction of Spener and of his friends, the professors of Halle (pp. 73 and 74); that he succeeded in restoring the sense of the importance of Catechetical Instruction* (p. 74); that his widest influence was obtained through the Collegia Pietatis, which were established in many places, *continued long a blessing to the Church*, and were the means of recalling many, even of the learned, from the inventions and disputes of the schools, to the basis of

* Schrockh (viii. p. 154.) expressly says that from Spener's time, catechising by degrees *came into full life and vigour*.

a more fruitful theology, in piety and the study of the Scriptures (p. 78). By his works he exerted no merely temporary influence over a large portion of the German Church (p. 84); by his various improvements, (viz. the revival of Biblical and Historical investigation, and the concession that other communions might in some respects be more correct than the Lutheran, and that that Church, like every other, could not be free from error,) and by the spirit of enquiry to which all this gave rise, *he shook the supposed infallibility and perfection* virtually ascribed to the old system, (p. 86). His followers, through the erection of the university of Halle, obtained an extensive and influential field of action (*ibid*) ; a sound system of religious instruction for the ministry was laid down there (p. 86—96); teachers of youth and ministers were sought for from Halle *in every part of Germany* (p. 97) ; the bodies thus organized long continued to exist, and never wholly lost their influence (*ibid*) ; and the branches of Spener's system, doubtless, were permanently as well as extensively influential (p. 105.) From the Pietists too, sprung, says Mr. Pusey (p. 111), a body of men of great learning, such as Mosheim, Buddeus, Pfaff, who acted beneficially, though in a limited sphere; and that orthodox school, which beginning with Bengel and Storr, has lasted through all the storms of Rationalism down to the

present day. Not only is it clear then that, in every one of these cases, enough was done to modify any undue rigidity which might have characterised Lutheran Theology in its earlier state ;—but, according to Mr. Pusey, (p. 112,) ‘ no attack was made (on that Theology) *without producing some corresponding impression.*’ Nor are these strong facts by any means all which may be alleged from Mr. Pusey’s own book. For it is the direct statement of Twesten, quoted there (p. 179) that the mass of the Lutheran Church, viz. the people, were but little affected by the defects of the old Theology. Nay, strange to say, it is Mr. Pusey’s own declaration, (p. 180) that even during the Rationalist system, *the former faith* of the people was kept alive by the study of Scripture, and the hymns of a more pious age, which Germany possesses in such rich abundance*.

To these remarkable expressions, we may add the recorded declaration of an eminent person among the Rationalist Theologians, and if it were necessary, we could produce very many to the same effect. It is Bretschneider, who says that before the Rationalist

* To what age Mr. Pusey alludes, or when the people could have acquired any faith at all, if his representations were correct, it is difficult to conceive. See on this point the note in pp. 137, 138.

æra, there was a strong attachment to religion in the people—that not only were the external ceremonies objects of deep concern—that not only were the Churches crowded, and too small for the congregations who thronged to them—but that at home the people diligently read the Scriptures—that a Bible was found in every poor man's house, and that it was daily read and duly honoured. Would all this have been so, if Mr. Pusey's picture of the evils of the early German Church had been a correct one, and if the clergy had been, as he represents, mere bigotted polemics, and ignorant of all but their own creeds?

Mr. Pusey must explain these statements, or give up his argument. The people, I apprehend, did not teach themselves—they did not throng to the house of God, they did not learn to honour His holy name and His word of themselves. Who then were their teachers? Who led them thus far at least on the road to salvation? Who gave them that faith of which he speaks? Who were the authors of the pious hymns which preserved and animated that faith? Who but the very men whom Mr. Pusey has denounced as evil, ignorant, blind, and bigotted?

If then on the one hand, the orthodox system did not prevent its teachers from discharging, ac-

ording to Mr. Pusey's own shewing, the duty of faithful teachers of Christianity ; and if on the other, Mr. Pusey's own statements also shew that that system was exposed to numberless attacks from different quarters, and that it was seriously affected by all ; I am perfectly at a loss to imagine how he can maintain the argument on which his whole book rests, viz. that all the stiffness of the system, and all its want of real Christianity, lasted down to the very time when Rationalism took rise, and by the offence which such defects naturally gave, provoked that fearful system*.

* I confess that all this part of Mr. Pusey's work is very difficult of comprehension to me. He states, as we have just seen, that strong, extensive, and abiding impressions were made on the Lutheran Church by the several persons and schools whom he enumerates. Yet his argument goes on the supposition that no salutary impressions were made, and that the system continued as bad to the end as he represents it to have been at first. He allows that all these persons and schools produced great effect, and yet he assumes that the evil system which he has imagined remained in as full operation as if these opponents had never existed at all. He might reply, I can understand, that he had written carelessly, and did not mean that the impressions caused by Arndt, Spener, &c. &c. were *lasting*. But then he would be inconsistent with himself in other parts of his work. For example, in page 147, he distinctly states, that the practical clergy at the first outbreaking of Rationalism, 'kept alive the spirit of piety awakened by Spener,' and 'remained doubtless to a very wide extent, unaffected by the contagion around them.' If this

I have thus far, it will be observed, rested my case almost entirely on Mr. Pusey's own admissions and

was the case, if the practical clergy were in this desirable state, then Mr. Pusey must allow that the condition of the Lutheran Church could not have been for a long period so wretched as he makes it.

There is indeed an indefiniteness of view running through the work on this point for which I cannot account. In speaking (p. 178) of the improved state of the Evangelical Church within the last very few years, Mr. Pusey says, that it may be hoped that it will, if it proceeds in its present course, *again* be one of the fairest portions of the universal Church. When was it so before, I would ask, in Mr. Pusey's judgment? Not in Luther's time, as he distinctly says in pages 7, 8; not in the unhappy age of controversies which succeeded, and of which he complains so bitterly (pages 9. 11. 15); not in that seventeenth century which he paints in such revolting colours. What then can the word *again*, coupled with the preceding extract, mean but that *after Spener's time*, the clergy were what they ought to be, and the Church a fair portion of the universal Church? I cannot, after considering the matter in every light, come to any other result than this. Yet if this be the true result, if this be Mr. Pusey's view, how can he escape my conclusion; viz. that the faults of the Church (i. e. the spirit of controversy, &c. &c.) passed away with the circumstances which gave rise to them, that a gradual amelioration had taken place, and that there was thus no sort of occasion for that crisis, that outpouring of the spirit of evil in the period of Rationalism, without which he contends that the spirit of the Reformation could never have been developed?

In the same way in p. 137, we find the expression 'Theology, thus already on the decline, naturally sunk still farther,' &c. I

statements. But if we turn from Mr. Pusey's work to his authorities, that case is very materially strengthened. We find in them a picture which bears but a faint resemblance to his portraiture of the seventeenth century—a picture certainly sometimes unfavourable to the Lutheran Church, but still shewing that, as it was reasonable to believe, the evil was accompanied, tempered, controuled, and redeemed by much good. Let any one, for example, fairly examine Buddeus's *Isagoge*, or Weisman, books to which Mr. Pusey constantly appeals, and which from the copious accounts they contain of the writers in every branch of Theology, present as complete a view of the subject as can be attained by those who are not able to enter on original investigations. What do we find there? We find a long list assuredly of controversialists, because there was a period when controversy* was not to be avoided;

would ask Mr. Pusey from what state it declined? His argument has been all along, that from the beginning of the seventeenth century, its state in the Church at large was as bad as can be imagined. Does he mean that Spener had revived its condition *generally*? If that is his meaning, his great argument falls to the ground; if it is not, I am at a loss to understand the expression in any way.

* It must, after all, be remembered, that a large share of controversy must always be expected in a militant Church. It is useless then to complain of evils which cannot be avoided.

but we find the number of polemics gradually diminishing, as we descend into times when their labours were no longer required*. On the other hand, we find a very large number of divines, remarkable, not only (as Mr. Pusey says) for their learning, but for the soundness of their views, and the judicious use of their acquirements; a statement sufficiently proved by the fact, that many of their writings are standard works down to the present hour. We find in Weismann especially, not a blind eulogy on the character of the century, but on the contrary, a free and full confession of its faults. We find, however, that he deliberately asserts, that the many improvements to be traced in the course of the century, were clear proofs of a blessing resting on the age, and subduing and tempering (*frangentis ac temperantis*) its corruption. Among these improvements, he especially reckons not only the renewal of a *strong spirit of practical piety*, but the correction and *promotion of Catechetical Instruction, the ardour in publishing and reading Scripture, and the perspicuous explanation, solid proofs, salutary application, and strong inculcation of Christian doctrine, in sermons and writings of all kinds, for the use of*

* This fact is directly and positively stated indeed by Stäudlin in his *Geschichte der Theolog. Wissenschaften*, when treating of this very subject.

*both the learned and unlearned**. These statements, coming from one who had devoted so many years to the study of Ecclesiastical History, who not only asserted them once, but deliberately re-asserted them after an interval of above twenty years, will be enough, I think, to shew that Mr. Pusey's picture is very far too highly coloured.

But if that be so, it is clear, as I have before said, that his theory cannot be maintained. If the evils of which complaint is made, are restrained, checked, controuled, and tempered, by correcting and counter-acting good, it is not any longer in the nature of things that they should produce a re-action. The theory that makes them do so, goes on the supposi-

* Weisman, ii. p. 1141. Let it be observed too that I have not here taken the most favourable statements for my purpose. In pages 1—3 of his second Vol. Weisman, after stating that there was a strong contest of good and evil in this century, and that it was marked both by greater virtues and greater vices than former ones, says, that learned men are in the habit of giving this century the decided preference over others, and that he will give their judgment in the words of Du Pin. Now Du Pin's statement is, that there was indeed too much controversy and other faults, but that in this century, scholastic subtleties were banished, Theology was founded on Scripture and tradition, Ecclesiastical History was much advanced, sound criticism exercised, and that no age ever produced so many admirable writings on doctrine, morals, &c. &c.

tion that there is no counteracting good—and that the better feelings of mankind, overpowered and kept down for a time, at length rebel, and are carried by the hatred with which they regard their former error, into another of an opposite nature.

Finally, I must observe, that Mr. Pusey's observations and theory apply to the Lutheran Church exclusively. How does he account for the fact, that Rationalism prevailed just as extensively in the Reformed Church? Let us suppose it true, for the moment, that Rationalism was the fruit of over-attachment to the letter of a large mass of symbolical books in the Lutheran Church; the same system did not in any degree prevail among the Reformed Protestants. We have seen already (p. 92), that Professor Sack states* that the Reformed Church had but one short symbol, the Heidelberg Catechism; and although this is not true of the several branches of that Church, it is undoubtedly true that it had no large mass of symbolical books, nor perhaps *any one common symbol*; certainly none (*except* the

* I ought perhaps to have noticed, in p. 92, that the Colloquium Lipsiacum was drawn up at a meeting of Reformed and Lutheran Ministers, held expressly for the sake of promoting an union; and that, consequently, the Reformed went as far there in the way of concession as they thought at all consistent with their belief.

Heidelberg Catechism. Mr. Pusey, therefore, cannot contend that mere 'dead orthodoxy,' 'adherence to a deadening formularism,' &c. &c. were the causes of Rationalism in the Reformed Church. If his theory, then, will not account for this strange phenomenon in one branch of the German Protestants, it is a little singular that he should consider it as the only possible explanation of the same appearances in the other.

I must, therefore, in conclusion, repeat my conviction, that the theory is wholly unsatisfactory; and that instead of Rationalism being a necessary transition-state, a crisis necessary to develope the real principles of the Reformation, and clear away all the errors in Theology which remained after that period, it arose wholly from unfortunate (but accidental) external and internal circumstances; from the sudden, general, and often ill-directed movement in all branches of intellectual knowledge in Germany; from the evil influence of foreign infidelity, and other circumstances of a similar nature; and from the total want of any guiding principles of Church government to obviate and lessen the evils which resulted from them. If I am right in this opinion, one consequence, which I have all along deduced from it, cannot be denied, viz. that such guiding and controlling principles will always be required for the good of every Church, because it is always liable to be affected by external circumstances, and because

the pride of the human intellect requires only a few favourable external circumstances to induce and enable it to assert (as it did in the Rationalist period in Germany) its own independence on any revealed Religion, and its entire sufficiency for its own moral guidance.

I have now concluded my remarks on the main argument of Mr. Pusey's work ; but it is impossible for me, my Lord, in fulfilling the painful task I have assigned to myself, to allow several particular passages in it to pass without grave consideration. They do not, it may be said, present any very *definite* feature ; but their very indefiniteness, I think, constitutes perhaps their chief evil.

Mr. Pusey in one place, sets before his English readers a picture of certain advantages* derived to

* I cannot go into detail on the matter, as it would occupy a volume. But I must beg to express my entire dissent from Mr. Pusey's statement, and especially from that part of it, in which he tells us that, in the Rationalist period, 'the principles established in each *theological science*, and its more comprehensive and juster cultivation, have been productive of greater good to Theology than even the enlarged knowledge which has resulted from the continued investigations, &c.' I should be most happy to learn which of the Theological Sciences the Rationalists pursued on right principles. To which of the great lights of Ra-

Theology from the wild career which the German Theologians have run. Had he attempted to represent more distinctly to himself, or to explain more distinctly to others what these advantages are, I am well persuaded that some of the vivid colouring with which he has decked his picture would have faded away. As far, however, as it is possible to collect Mr. Pusey's notions, from the somewhat exaggerated and undefined expressions of commendation and exultation which he has used, one of the chief advantages derived, is a bolder and more unhesitating spirit of enquiry into the truth of Christianity. Men no longer, it seems, (p. 176) enter on the enquiry with that hesitating timidity, which contemplates the results with reference only to an existing human system, thereby producing an unconscious bias to blink the difficulties by which the wished for conclusion is opposed *. If the Germans

tionalism would Mr. Pusey refer us, for examples of sound principles of Interpretation, of Christian Ethics, or of Pastoral Theology? Have Paullus, and Wegscheider, and Gabler, and Cannabich, been indeed such signal benefactors to mankind?

* The conclusion of the sentence is, 'And thus by becoming unsuceptible for that portion of truth which may exist in a scheme at variance with one's own.' I could earnestly have wished that Mr. Pusey had been more explicit here. As it is, these phrases, I confess, appear to me to be very like tossing about firebrands in sport. That many advantages may exist in schemes different from one's own may be very true. But why we should live in a

were in the habit of approaching to the consideration of the evidences of Christianity with such a spirit, undoubtedly it is a matter for cordial congratulation that they have changed it for a better ; for one which renders to the majesty of truth, as displayed in Christianity, the homage due to it. I am far from asserting that Mr. Pusey in this and several other passages of similar tenor, meant to cast any oblique reflections on our system. I am willing to give him credit for such a knowledge of our greater writers, and for so much candour, as would render such an intention impossible. I do not, therefore, say, that I repel the insinuation against us conveyed by this expression. But I have no hesitation in saying, that such passages will be misunderstood * ; that they

system of Religion which possesses truth in essential points which ours does not, I cannot see. Can the Calvinist admit that truth exists in the Arminian system ? If so, why does he not renounce his own ? On great points, I cannot understand how truth can be divided into portions, part of which belong to one party, and part to another. On many subjects, all Christians agree, and by the confession of all, possess the same truth. When they differ, how can they recognise as true at once their own opinion, and another opposed to it ? If by truth, Mr. Pusey means to refer only to non-essentials, it appears to me really hardly worth while to consume time in making the observation.

* Nor could Mr. Pusey well complain, when he is perpetually referring to *all* establishments, and sometimes especially to our own. For example (p. 34) he says, ‘ that a virtual claim to in-

will be considered as expressing the *necessary* results of all human systems, and consequently of our own; and that in that light they will be hailed with lively satisfaction by those, who delight in affixing the reproach of narrow views, and of affection to system and to human institutions, upon us. ~~X~~ It is on that account that I especially notice these words, and beg on the part of the Church of England, to enter a distinct protest against the representation here made of the effects of a system being *necessarily* true. That in inferior minds, a certain narrowness of tone may arise from being under the operation of a system, I am not, as I have already stated, concerned to deny, nor to conceal my conviction that for such minds on the whole, that tone is the least evil which can be expected. But we are not to judge of the effects of a system by observing its operation on minds, which no system and no freedom from system could materially elevate or depress. But we are to look to original thinkers—to minds richly endowed by nature and cultivated by study. And looking to those which have adorned the Church of England, I assert directly in the teeth of the apparent tendency of Mr. Pusey's proposition, that they have examined the foundations of their faith, it may be

fallibility, is, perhaps, natural to every long-established unaltered church.' Again, he speaks (I presume) of me, as one 'who has witnessed in his own country, a scrupulous adherence to a received system.' (p. 174.)

more reverently, but as fully and as fearlessly, as the most liberal of the German critics. I assert that, whatsoever our enemies or our false friends may represent, the young enquirer, desirous and capable of going fairly into the question of the truth of Christianity, will find the way as open with us as in any Church. I assert that no difficulties are blinked, no hesitating timidity is felt. I will never submit, as a member of the Church of England, to the imputation that my faith has been taken on trust—that the tendency of her system has been to do me the irreparable injury of preventing me from looking as fully and as steadily at the unveiled form of Christianity, as the powers which God has given me may have enabled me to do.

But waving these considerations entirely, and allowing to Mr. Pusey that the advantages which he claims as arising from the late licentiousness of German Theology, are far greater than either mine or any other estimate could place them at, there is still a consideration of higher moment, which impresses itself irresistibly on the mind. These advantages at most are a better exegesis*, a freedom from, what some think, the dreadful evils of system, a bolder

* I am not stating my own opinion here, but allowing my opponent's statements, I have already spoken of the grammatical interpretation in a former work.

spirit of enquiry—but not either a new or a more perfect appreciation of the great truths of Christian doctrine. How then can we reconcile to ourselves a cold calculation of the gain so attained, separated from all feeling of regret for the great overbalance of irreparable evil, and woe, and misery, which these proceedings have caused? My Lord, I do not desire a single reader to adopt my views of the mischiefs and misery of German Rationalism. I am willing, as I have stated above, to adopt the representations which I find in the very volume before me. I recall to myself the numberless writings of the Rationalists themselves, on the subject of the total *indifference* to religion, which, as they confess, was the characteristic feature of Germany, not twenty years ago. With these things pressing themselves on my mind, I confess that I am grieved beyond expression, to find that in such a lamentable state of things, a thinking and feeling man can be alive rather to the petty good, than to the monstrous evil.

What! my Lord, when thousands have lived and died in indifference or in unbelief, in sin and in misery, can we stop to calculate the advantages of a bolder style of interpretation, and a more liberal spirit of enquiry? Can we rejoice over such petty victories, and not shed one single tear over the victims by whose sufferings they have been achieved? Can we think that such wretched triumphs are not

dearly won, and not mourn over those whose very heart's blood has paid the price of them ? I seek not to drag the frailties of the dead from their dread abode, and I earnestly hope and pray that many may stand excused at the tribunal of God, by the prejudices and errors of the age in which they lived, and which their weakness could not escape or withstand. But I cannot forget what many did, nor what many suffered. I cannot forget that the whole population of Germany were assailed as no Christian population was ever assailed before, by sneers, by scoffs, by lies, by misrepresentations, by open revilings, and by wanton blasphemies.

It may be said, my Lord, that such considerations came not within the scope of Mr. Pusey's enquiry. But I cannot allow such an excuse to avail—I maintain that they could not with propriety be excluded from it. Is he to speak to our young divines of the gain of such monstrous proceedings,—and not to notice the loss ? to inflame young minds (ever desirous of novelty, and ready to exchange the good they have for any visionary prospects) by exaggerated statements of the petty good, and not to give one friendly caution against the enormous overbalance of evil ? That good will under an overruling Providence arise from all evil—that when men will not take the straight road, they will ultimately by

that Providence be brought round by their own tortuous paths, to the point to which he desires to conduct them, we do not now require to be informed. This, I maintain, and this precisely, was the case in Germany. The Lutheran system of doctrine had its base and foundation in truth. The simple faults were, that the symbolical books were too many and too long, and that after the necessity for their multiplication had ceased, there was no true, nor even any energetic form of Church government to correct that evil. Had there been so, had the Confession of Augsбурgh been made the sole Book of Articles, all the trifling and temporary evils of controversy which arose, would have disappeared as they did with us, and the Germans might have arrived at that point to which they seem to be tending at last, without undergoing almost a century of evil and misery. I must, therefore, think that Mr. Pusey has been guilty of a capital and a dangerous omission, in not noticing the evil which has prevailed; the more especially, as we have already seen* that he was fully aware of its extent.

But, in good truth, I feel a deep objection to the spirit with which Mr. Pusey has touched on many of the sins of the Rationalists, and has even

* See above, pp. 17—23.

attempted to palliate them. The following is a striking example of what I mean. Mr. Pusey is speaking (note pp. 179, 180.) of Rationalism as taught in the sermons of its advocates. He states that he has certainly heard more than one sermon founded on Rationalist principles, and stating incidentally, Rationalist views—but that he knows that the ‘evil passed unnoticed by the congregation!!’ that where the mischief was more conspicuous, ‘the congregations through their own biblical knowledge were able to correct it, and had even in some cases, insisted on the removal of their preacher.’—‘In general, however, the effects of Rationalism on the pulpit were solely to produce dry moral discourses, or if a different meaning were attached and attributed by the preacher to the doctrinal terms which he yet retained, the congregations in whom their former faith was kept alive by the study of Scripture, and the hymns of a more pious age which Germany possesses in such rich abundance, continued to understand them in their original Christian meaning!!’ Mr. Pusey afterwards states, that though there might be some strong cases, in general the mischief done by the Rationalists, was not different from that of dead orthodoxy—that the effects were rather negative than positive, a withholding of good than a substitution of bad food.

I confess I could not read this passage without surprise, and somewhat of a stronger feeling. Does Mr. Pusey really imagine that the congregations of these preachers, who said one thing and meant another, were so entirely blind and senseless, so entirely without knowledge of all that was passing around them, and of what was the common topic of thought, of conversation, and of discussion in the numberless journals, as to have no suspicion of their reverend and honest teachers' opinions ? What then does Mr. Pusey think of the moral harm that must have arisen from their knowing that hypocrisy had possession of the teacher's chair, and that the person from whom they and all around them were to gather their morality and their religion, thought it no harm to say one thing and mean another, to carry deceit and guile into the very house of his Maker and his God ? How can a man of honour and feeling, even allow himself to utter one word (I do not say in defence of such preachers, for of that Mr. Pusey is incapable) but in palliation of a system dreadful in all its parts, and perhaps most infamous in that very feature which he thinks not likely to produce disadvantage ?

I must next utter my decided protest against the views which Mr. Pusey entertains of the benefits

likely to arise from collecting doubts on the genuineness of any parts of Scripture. The passage to which I refer is this:—

“ The faith of the Christian depends not upon the reception of the one or the other book of Scripture ; and it has been a supposition pregnant with mischief, that any doubt respecting an individual portion of the sacred volume, necessarily implies a diminished value for its whole contents, or a weakened reverence and gratitude towards its Divine Giver. The enquiries in Germany, though occasionally carried on upon wrong principles, seem generally to have had truth for their object, have contributed to the firmer and better grounded establishment of several books, and to the better classification of all ; and one instance at least, the anxiety evinced by practical as well as scientific Theologians, to vindicate to its Author, what all Christianity has designated as ‘ the evangelical, the spiritual Gospel,’ implies no slight interest in the truths which it pre-eminently contains.” To this passage is added the following note.

“ Within a short time after Bretschneider’s collection of objections or difficulties relating to the genuineness of St. John’s Gospel appeared, no less than fourteen answers were published ; and the point is now established to the satisfaction, of Bretschneider himself, in common with the rest of Germany ; it would,

however, be very unjustifiable to ascribe to Bretschneider any other motive than that which he assigns in his original work, the wish to bring the question to an issue : where doubts have acquired a general prevalence, it is an unquestionable service to collect those doubts as strongly as they are capable of being put ; the only result of the desultory answers with which, until this is done, vindicators often content themselves, is to produce an unjustified and unconvinced conviction."

The greater part of these assertions mean very little. Abstractedly it is true, no doubt, that the man who rejected three Gospels out of four, and yet who firmly believed the fourth, might be as good a Christian as they who received all—nakedly, no doubt, it is true that ‘a doubt on an individual portion of the sacred volume, need not necessarily imply a diminished value for the whole contents.’ But how is the case in fact ? Were the persons to whom Mr. Pusey refers, led by mere circumstances to doubt of a single book ; or did their disputes arise from a disposition which inclined them to doubt, wherever a doubt could by possibility exist, or could be made colourable ? Is it not true that every art and every argument were tried by these persons, to make a case not against one book, but against a large portion of the contents of the New Testament ? Is it not true also, that if there be one disposition in the world more mischievous, more unphilosophical, and more unsanctifying than another, it is the disposition

to believe nothing, and to cavil at every thing? Mr. Pusey tells us, to be sure, that the enquiries in Germany seem generally to have had truth for their object. But this is idle. We do not perhaps above once in a century deal with one of so diabolical a temper as to have falsehood for his object; but the effect of idly starting doubts, of exerting ingenuity in maintaining them, and in suggesting them to others to whom they would never have occurred, is as evil as if there were a direct intention to mislead, and he who produces those effects is as justly responsible for them. No terms of reprobation can, in my mind, be too strong to be applied to any man, who in his idleness or his perverse ingenuity, suggests or embodies doubts which may shake the faith, and so perhaps destroy the souls of very many of his brethren.

Mr. Pusey states his conviction that, 'where doubts have acquired a general prevalence, it is an unquestionable service to collect those doubts as strongly as they are capable of being put; the only result of the desultory answers with which, till this is done, vindicators often content themselves, is to produce an unjustified and unconvinced conviction.' That the collector of doubts who leaves to others, as may be, the task of confuting them, may sometimes, by rousing the indignation of the advocates of the Christian Religion, draw forth such a confutation of

his own statements, as more fully to establish the truths he has impugned, and compel even him at least to affect a retraction of his wanton scepticism, is perhaps true. But the truth of that proposition affords no defence of the intentions of such collectors of doubts, nor any proof of the wisdom of their proceedings, even if their intentions were pure. Evil may, in this case, as in others, produce good, but it does not, therefore, change its nature; and I have not yet learned to think that the scattering doubts as to the truth of Religion, or the genuineness of Scripture is not an evil, merely because such proceedings may call forth a reply. That reply may, perhaps, never reach numbers whose faith has been shaken by doubts which had never occurred to themselves, and which have no real foundation. Do these meritorious collectors of doubts, I would ask, publish without ascertaining to their own satisfaction whether the doubts they publish are well grounded or not? If indeed these doubters have convinced themselves, Mr. Pusey's defence does not apply to them. They are in fact no longer collectors of doubts, but have taken their party. If they are not convinced by the objections they send forth, how can they excuse themselves for not stating at the same time the grounds on which they retain their former convictions, for sending out, in short, a deadly poison without the antidote which they possess?

Mr. Pusey says, that in the especial case before us, it would be unjustifiable to suspect Bretschneider of any other aim than that which he professes, viz. a wish to bring the question to an issue. It may be unjustifiable, but I shall venture to do so. For it is a fact which has probably escaped Mr. Pusey's recollection, that Bretschneider impugned the genuineness of St. John's Gospel, not merely on critical and historical grounds, but on the ground that the character of Jesus as delineated by St. John, did not agree with the representations of the other Evangelists. Now, with respect to historical and critical grounds, we may imagine a man to say that his talents, or his acquirements, or his opportunities, do not enable him to enter on such an investigation. But he who has time to publish his doubts on Scripture, can surely never have the indecency nor folly to profess that he has not time to study, nor sense to discern the truth on a question open to every man of plain sense and honest mind. On this point indeed, as on others, we are told Bretschneider is now satisfied. Will he venture to say that he might not have been satisfied before; or to deny that he had no right to start doubts on a subject where he could have satisfied himself, as he says that he has subsequently done? I, therefore, in spite of Mr. Pusey's denunciation, have no hesitation in

declaring Bretschneider's proceedings wanton and unjustifiable in the highest degree.

I have already complained of the indefiniteness of Mr. Pusey's language on a particular point, and I must make the same complaint of the manner in which he speaks of the state of Theology at all preceding times, and of its prospects in general. When he speaks of the early German divines, we find him allowing (p. 35) that in their learning they were often superior to those of other ages; and we know, without Mr. Pusey's information, that they held all the great truths of the Christian scheme. Yet they are unsparingly condemned. They were deficient 'in scientific spirit, in freedom from prejudice, in comprehensive and discriminating views.' We pass to another class. We find it allowed (pages 132, 133) that Ernesti had got rid of the defects of the old Theologians, that he had restored the true system of grammatical interpretation, and that he was 'faithful to the sum of Christian doctrine.' In him, however it seems, 'the evils of a mere external conception of Christianity * were apparent;' he was

* Of course this objection, as well as that taken above to the earlier theologians, is perfectly intelligible if applied to *individuals*. But in this case, as in the former, the same objection is

' destitute of the key which would have opened to him the fuller riches of Scripture.' But at present, we are told that we may be gladdened (p. 4) by the 'results of a purer, more active, more vivifying faith, which are now apparent ;' that there is (p. 176) ' an already commenced blending of belief and science ;' and that we may even expect (p. 115) ' a new era in Theology, whenever the principles which it (Schleiermacher's *Kurze Darstellung*) furnishes for the cultivation of the several theological sciences shall be acted upon.' Is it too much to ask from Mr. Pusey to explain what this and many more expressions * of the same sort may mean ? What, especially, is meant by this ' already commenced blending of belief and science ?' Does it signify any thing more than that a right belief as to essentials is now, in Mr. Pu-

made to the whole school of Baumgarten, as to Ernesti ; and I think it most unjust and harsh to believe, that if a whole school of divines retains a sincere belief in Christian truth, and is possessed of sound learning, it will, as a *School*, have an unchristian character. Individuals of course will be found without a spirit of piety ; and in the whole school there may be faults and serious ones. But surely right belief and sound knowledge, are the best foundations for Christian character.

* I trust I need not say that, unless there were many more of the same kind, I should not think it right to offer the expressions in the text to the notice of the reader. It is the tone of the work of which I complain, and which is sufficiently shewn by the sentences I have given.

sey's opinion, joined to a sound knowledge*? If it means no more, why the severe condemnation of almost all former schools and former men? Will right belief and sound knowledge ensure a pious heart in the nineteenth more than in the seventeenth century, merely because the forms in which the belief may be expressed and the knowledge conveyed, are more judicious in the one than the other? If it means no more, why indulge in language, which to young men especially, must convey the idea of some vast improvement over former schemes of Theology, without any corresponding reality? If it does mean more, let us be distinctly told what is the new light broken upon us. Let us not be left to vague expectations of a new era in Theology—to be formed too by the writings of one, of whose attainments and genius I may think with as much respect as Mr. Pusey, but the nature of whose belief is an enigma, which cannot be satisfactorily solved even by Ger-

* Does Mr. Pusey mean that real Christianity was unknown in Germany, from the dawning of the Reformation till within these ten years, to any but a few individuals? This is hardly to be believed. It moves my wonder too to find such *confident* statements as to the present state of things. I *hope*, like Mr. Pusey, and I *believe* that there is a dawning of a bright day. But I cannot be too confident as to the *rapidity* of the progress; and I would beg of Mr. Pusey, as well as my readers, to re-consider Tweeten's picture of the present state of things, in order to see how much remains to be done. See above, pp. 20—22.

mans themselves*, and who is known to English readers only by a work which Mr. Pusey himself, would, I am sure, be the first to condemn †.

I must next complain very seriously of the method in which Mr. Pusey expresses his conviction of the absurdity of believing in the inspiration of the historical parts of Scripture. The imparting of religious truth, says he (p. 31) ‘ being the object of Revelation, any further extension of inspiration would appear an unnecessary miracle, as indeed it is one, which is no where claimed by the writers of the New Testament. Violence was, in consequence, naturally done to the language of Scripture’ (by the early in-

* Mr. Pusey (p. 115) complains of Bretschneider for placing Schleiermacher in the class of those who identify Christianity and some human system of philosophy. It is a curious fact, that Schleiermacher’s book ‘ *Der Christliche Glaube*,’ has long exercised and divided the judgments of the German Theologians. I see that a writer in Steudel’s new Theological Journal, (Baur) has attempted in a formal essay, to shew that Schleiermacher is, in many respects, a Gnostic; and that the Christ of his system is an ideal being, identical with the highest period of the development of the religious sentiment in man. See *Archives du Christ*, for December last.

† Mr. Pusey, indeed, has already, most warmly and properly, expressed his disapprobation of one of the leading principles of Schleiermacher’s work on St. Luke, viz. the author’s constant endeavours to reduce every thing in the Gospels to the level of every-day life. He speaks of the principle as exercised by Paulus.

terpreters, who believed in the plenary inspiration of the historical books;) ‘it may suffice, as an instance, that *εκ* is by these interpreters stated to be equivalent to *εἰς*. This, however, for the time, could produce no detrimental doctrinal result; yet in its palpable perversion of the doctrine of Inspiration, it did prepare for the indiscriminate rejection of the doctrine itself.’

Mr. Pusey would have done perfectly right in censuring the absurdities, of which the interpreters to whom he refers were guilty; and if he does not believe in the inspiration of the historical parts of Scripture, he would, perhaps, have done well to declare and justify his disbelief in the doctrine. But he has, I think, done wrong in treating so grave a matter so lightly, and in thinking that the whole question is settled by a remark, ‘that religious truth is the only object of revelation,’ and by a statement, that certain interpreters who adopted a different opinion, were guilty of absurd interpretations. They who disagree with Mr. Pusey, still believe that the imparting of religious truth is the only object of Revelation; and they conceive that the writers of the Life of Christ, for example, were protected from error in delivering an account of his actions, because, in their belief, religious truth could not otherwise be so well imparted. In considering the part of Scrip-

ture (viz. the New Testament) to which Mr. Pusey has alluded, they need not go at all into the question which he seems to think the only one, viz. the necessity of inspiration in matters purely historical, although they might probably differ with him entirely on that point. For there is no pure history in the New Testament. The Gospels are a free mixture of history and religious truths of the highest importance; and they who differ from Mr. Pusey, can see no absurdity in supposing that persons chosen as the instruments for imparting to mankind the words of their Saviour, were assisted in imparting them faithfully in connexion with the history of his actions. On the contrary, as they think that nothing can be more probable than that the writers should have been assisted in imparting the momentous doctrines delivered by our Lord, they conceive that it would be strange to suppose that they were under the influence of inspiration in one verse, deprived of it in the next, and then restored to its privileges in the third. But this is not all. Mr. Pusey has no right whatever to say, that the doing violence to the language of Scripture, is a natural consequence of the opinion I have been stating. That opinion does not contend for the verbal inspiration of Scripture, but simply for such a degree of assistance as would preserve the writers from error. They who hold that opinion reply to the instances of difference

produced from various parts of Scripture, that the alleged difference never amounts to a contradiction—that our knowledge of the circumstances of each event is very small—and that it might very possibly be found that on a larger acquaintance with them, the apparent inconsistencies would entirely vanish. They would add too, that they never contend for any miraculous preservation of the integrity of the text of Scripture; and that although corrections are generally to be deprecated, allowances must necessarily be made, on small matters, for corruptions and variations. Whatever may be the case when the new era in theology arrives, Mr. Pusey must be so kind as to remember that a belief in the inspiration of the Gospels is not yet considered as a vulgar error by English divines in general, and that they must feel themselves aggrieved by his stating it as a ruled case; that an opinion which they hold, and believe that they can maintain, necessarily tends to gross absurdities in the interpretation of Scripture. They will be happy to listen to Mr. Pusey's reasonings, but cannot consider the case as decided by a sweeping assertion.

I have now, my Lord, finished my remarks on Mr. Pusey's work, and I have done, I trust, with the controversy about German Theology for ever. I am well aware that there is no inconsiderable school of

admirers of that theology in this country ; and that I have given them unpardonable offence by the faithful picture which I have drawn of it. I am well aware too, that they hailed the appearance of Mr. Pusey's publication with delight, as likely to vindicate the objects of their idolatry, and to inflict signal castigation on my ignorance and presumption. If they have taken the trouble to read the work, the appearance of which they announced with so much triumph, their transports must, I think, have been somewhat tempered and repressed. For Mr. Pusey and his great authority Twesten, speak in as strong terms as I have done, of the declension of Christianity into Rationalism in Germany, though they have not described it as much in detail. It is now indeed a point established beyond contradiction, that unbelief (p. 3.) has prevailed in 'a large portion of the speculating minds' of Germany; that (p. 147) 'Scriptural doctrine was converted into speculation by one party, superficialized by another, treated as uncertain and vague by a third,' and finally amalgamated 'with the more earnest of the systems by which it was opposed, but to which it had been gradually approaching.' Mr. Pusey, who has made these statements, ought in all justice to share in the censures and the odium which have fallen on me ; and, conscious as he must be, that in so speaking,

he was speaking the simple truth, he would, I doubt not, be as indifferent to them as I am.

As it thus appears that I have no reason to be ashamed of what I said, so neither have I any reason to be ashamed of my motives for saying it. I spoke from no mean or base desire to detract from the just reputation of any man, and from no want of respect for the national character of the Germans. I expressed my warm admiration for their genius, their acquirements, and their unrelaxing pursuit of the treasures of knowledge. I have always felt that 'the irreligious levity' displayed in the period of Rationalism, was, in the words of one qualified alike by his powers and his knowledge, to judge of the subject, 'little congenial to the German character*.' But I felt too that not the less on this account, but very far the more, was the spectacle afforded by the prevalence of disbelief in such a nation deserving of consideration. It could not, I thought, but be useful to us as a warning. I thought, and I still

* Preface to 'The Pictures, &c.' translated from Tieck, (1825) p. 24. The able writer mentions just before that in the last century, 'partly from internal causes, partly from the influence of foreign manners and opinions it (religious feeling) had every where begun to languish, and had been almost entirely banished from the higher and more educated classes.'

think, that we require such a warning. For it is impossible to overlook the growing disposition to question all long-established truths, or the growing indisposition to all restraint and discipline in religious matters ; and the want of that restraint was unquestionably the means, (whatever were the causes) by which unbelief was enabled to attain to such a height in the German Churches. To wish that such restraint may be continued is, I well know, esteemed bigotry. But the time is come when men must not be frightened by hard names, but must defend whatever in their consciences they believe to be valuable, without any regard to the consequences to themselves. Some men, I allow, are ready at all times to defend systems and opinions, solely because they are old ; but there are just now a great many more (not wiser, to say the least, than the others) who desire to destroy them for no better reason.

Neither am I ashamed of having wished to set before the English reader, a faithful exposition of the principles of the persons whose works have been put into his hands. I can hardly believe indeed that the friends of free enquiry can object to me on this ground. They surely cannot object to the whole truth being told ; they, of all men, surely cannot desire that the mask, which has confessedly been assumed, should be allowed to remain on ; or that by persevering in the

use of Christian phrases, writers who have abjured Christianity should retain the name of Christians. Whatever system be adopted, truth, I presume, remains unchanged in value ; and if there were no reason to fear the consequences of imposture, it is a duty to expose it because it is imposture. But in the case before us, there was reason to fear the consequences. Many German works, more or less tinged with Rationalist principles, are coming into common use among students in divinity ; and while they continue to be in use, it is necessary that the principles of these authors should be known. How long the works now in vogue will remain so, I know not. Those of Kühnöl, the Rosenmüllers, and a few more of the same order, keep their place in this country, only because, I am ashamed to say, we have no works of a form adapted to supply it, for of any intrinsic merit they appear to me nearly destitute. I am perfectly ready to admit that some of the Rationalist and Infidel school, have been men of a far higher order of mind than these. But even in their case, every day is showing that the idolatry with which their names have been worshipped, rests on no solid foundation ; and that their writings, in addition to a want of sound Christian faith, are characterized by a hardihood of unsupported assertions almost unparalleled. It cannot indeed be too often repeated, or too generally known, that the

assertions of the Rationalist critics with respect to the style, phraseology, and usage of words in Scripture, those assertions by which they have endeavoured to take away all credit from many of the sacred books are not in the slightest degree to be relied on. They have made their way partly from the boldness of the authors, partly from ignorance in their readers, and partly from a better feeling; partly I say, from a better feeling, because it was not to be believed that men writing on so serious a subject, and making such a parade of learning and accuracy, would venture upon the most minute and the most positive assertions, without sufficient grounds. Let those who wish to know how this matter is, read the late work of a learned American, Mr. Stuart of Andover, on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and they will not in future, be very ready to attach credit lightly to the works of Bertholdt, De Wette, Schulz, Seyffarth, Ziegler, or Böhme*. It is happily as unnecessary as it would be painful, to speak of such conduct in the terms which it deserves.

* Of Eichhorn, Mr. Pusey himself observes, that 'the pursuit of novelty to the comparative disregard of truth, was the besetting temptation of this original and elegant, but ill-regulated mind,' and that he lived long enough 'to see the last of his own new theories extorted from him.' How terrible a sentence of condemnation on a writer in theology!

In the earnest hope that I may not be compelled
to return to this controversy, and with many apologies
for having trespassed so long on your Lordship's
attention, I have the honour to be,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's obliged servant,

HUGH JAMES ROSE.

A P P E N D I X.

*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. E. B. Pusey, to the Rev.
H. J. Rose.*

—“ As I am now no longer bound to concealment, I should be much obliged to you to give publicity in your pamphlet to the following statement of the relation in which my Essay stands to Professor Tholuck’s Lectures, of whose publication I have first learnt from you. In the summer of 1826, a year after my attention had first been turned to modern German Theology, I understood that Professor Tholuck, with whom I had become acquainted at Oxford and during my first visit to Berlin, had read lectures on the subject of my enquiry. I endeavoured, therefore, to obtain a copy of some notes which had been taken of those lectures, and they were promised me. In that autumn I again met Professor Tholuck, and upon my mentioning, in the course of my enquiries on the subject, the promise which had been made me, he gave me free permission to make any use, which I pleased, of his lectures, but expressed a decided wish that I should not make any mention of his name. Circumstances, into which I need not enter, prevented my receiving the notes of these lectures until the spring of this year, and then in a very imperfect state. In the mean time I had pursued my enquiries in Germany in part among Professor Tholuck’s friends, in part among others; I had on my return read and re-read the books, which I have quoted in my notes, (besides many others) and entirely formed the whole outline of my book, and completed my own views, before I received the notes of Professor Tholuck’s lectures; and when I did receive them, they seemed to me to have been taken so imperfectly, that I thought that little use could be made of

them, and for a time laid them aside. I afterwards diligently extracted all the *facts* contained in them, which bore upon my enquiry; and you will find, accordingly, from the accompanying catalogue of what I am indebted to him for, that they are, with few exceptions, *facts*, not *opinions*, which I have taken. My own view, I must repeat, (that ‘not an *over-orthodoxy*, but a spurious, an untrue orthodoxy, one which had no right to the title, but did not the less boldly assume it, produced, partly by re-action, partly by its own further degeneracy, the late state of things in Germany’) was formed without any reference to Professor Tholuck, nor was it indeed developed in the imperfect notes which I received of his lectures. I do not wish to set up any claim for originality—the view that it arose in the ‘dead orthodoxy’ was first nakedly stated to me by Professor Neander of Berlin, the Ecclesiastical Historian, a man of deep piety, of real orthodoxy, and (which is of importance in this question) of very extensive and judicious reading. I found it afterwards to be that of Twesten, and of other orthodox divines of great talent, with whom I had intercourse. I own, however, that I was much prejudiced against the opinion at first, nor did I adopt it, until my own reading had convinced me of its truth. The merits or demerits of this view are then not in the least affected by my having employed the notes of Professor Tholuck’s lectures, except so far as his opinion, if it altogether agree with mine, which was formed entirely independently of it, is a confirmation of mine, and the more so, since he, as a native, must have had more opportunity of judging. —

There now only remains to add the statement of what I have taken from my notes of Professor Tholuck’s lectures. I have just looked through my essay in order to extract it. I felt myself bound as I mentioned, (having had no opportunity of being released from my promise, nor the slightest ground for suspecting

that Professor Tholuck's wishes did not remain the same) not to do more than make the general acknowledgement of the ' assistance derived from the MS. of a German friend, who has carried on the same enquiry,' at the end of my preface. The circumstances to which, whether rightly or wrongly, I ascribed his wish to remain anonymous, prevented me from doing any thing to destroy that anonymousness, and consequently from identifying my 'MS. of a German friend' with his lectures, by distinguishing on the several occasions what I had borrowed from them. I now gladly avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging my debt to him more distinctly, and at the same time of obtaining his authority for facts, which I was before obliged to state unsupported, but which could acquire no additional credit from a reference to an anonymous 'German MS.' You will find, if you take the trouble to make the references, that they are principally *facts*. Every thing for which I have quoted authorities, is the result of my own reading, and the reflections, not contained in this list, are my own. Some, indeed, I may have expressed in his language, (as I felt a sort of support when I could convey the opinions which I had myself formed in the language of one whom I respect,) but the views, whatever they were, were my own. For these and other similarities, (as my own character must necessarily be but very partially known both to yourself and others) I would only refer to similar instances; one of which is in a book which happens to be at this moment before me, of a person justly esteemed; Dr. Chandler's Bampton Lectures. He says, in his preface, that 'the main principle and several of the details of his lectures are so often coincident with the subject-matter of two other works, that without the explanation which he has given, he might be supposed to have borrowed from them not inconsiderably,' (p. xx.) I can only hope that the same credit, which has justly been given to him, will be extended to me.

What I have borrowed then is (p. 12.) the motto of Melancthon; (p. 32.) Spener's statement that six years theological study did not include any exposition of Scripture; (pages 44, 45.) the notices of the sermons of Andréä, Artomedes, and Hermann; (p. 49.) the quotations (I believe) of H. Müller, and Gerhard; (p. 54.) the language used against Arndt; (p. 56.) Spener's statement of the three books by which his character was principally formed; (p. 71.) third quotation from Spener's letters; (p. 77.) quotation from Articles of Smalcald and B. Carpzoff; (p. 87, note 2.) accusations against Francke; (p. 88, note 1.) notice of Carpzoff's Programm, (text) mention of Geneva; (p. 93.) account of Anton's view of polemic and the five-fold practical application of sermons, being against the Pietists; (p. 94, not. 1.) Francke's quotation from Luther and reference to the teaching of our Saviour; (p. 96.) account of private intercourse between the professors and students of Halle; (p. 97, line 1—3.) extent of the influence of Halle; (p. 98, line 2, 3.) Francke's statement of the alteration in the students of Theology; (p. 101.) substance of, line 8—13.; (p. 102.) heads under which the different spirit of Spener's school, and that of the later Pietists may be considered—account of language of Spener and Francke, and that of the later Pietists; (p. 104.) mode of employing the Sunday at Halle; (p. 105.) fact of exclusion from the communion for ἀδιαφορα, and formula of prayer in note 1. (p. 108.) hypocrisy in German courts, and facts in notes 1, 2. (p. 112.) Arnold's language on resigning his professorship; (p. 127, note 1.) on the characteristic difference of unbelief in the English, French, and Germans; (p. 133, two last lines, and p. 134, five first.) instances of the manner in which Fischer, &c. substituted ideas of natural religion for Christian truth; (p. 134.) J. D. Michaelis's statement of his own levity; (p. 136, note 1.) quotation from Lessing; (p. 149.) probably the quotations from Lessing; note 2, (p. 150.) the statement with regard to Teller and Spalding; (p. 156.) the effects of Lessing's too exclusive attachment for elegant literature; (p. 157.) Lessing's services in pointing out the limits of

reason; the character of Herder is expressed, I believe, nearly in Professor Tholuck's words, but is one which I found generally acknowledged, and which I had myself derived from his works; (p. 162.) the observations, line 7—17, on the Kantian philosophy, though they flow too directly from it to escape any one; (p. 164. note) the expectation that Kant would be led by his philosophy to Christianity; (p. 167—9.) accounts of philosophy of Fichte and Schelling; (p. 170.) the account of Jacobi may be in Professor Tholuck's words, though I have myself studied his works; the observations, (p. 171, line 7—17.) are Professor Tholuck's; (p. 172, line 5—11.) on the weakness of the present Rationalist system against either the Pantheist or the Christian (though indeed the necessary corollary of the foregoing); (p. 173, note 1.) the illustration of the difference between 'above,' and 'contrary to reason.'

I have collected the above from a careful examination of my essay. If I have other facts or quotations in common with Professor Tholuck, the identity arises from our having used the same common sources; these, you will find, if you take the trouble to refer, may be readily distinguished by being stated without authority: in one case only, that of the philosophy of Fichte, I have inadvertently allowed Professor Tholuck's references to be printed, while in that of Schelling I omitted them—you will observe too, that many of the references are extremely minute, and that however valuable this MS. was to me for its facts and illustrations, there is nothing borrowed from it *essential* to my views, and, therefore, that these views (for about these alone do I care) are in no way prejudiced by their coincidence with those of Professor Tholuck *.

* I should add, that I am now able to verify from subsequent reading most of these facts, nor have I heard of any incorrectness in them, with the exception of the account of Teller and Spalding's belonging to a political institute, which I inserted in p. 150, on Professor Tholuck's authority. This has since been denied by a respectable German authority, and from the character which he gives them, I believe as well as hope that it is not correct.

I must not now trespass longer upon your time than to thank you for your obliging offer of inserting my own explanation in my own words, which will perhaps be most conveniently done in the above form.

Your's very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

ORIEL COLLEGE,
Oct. 10, 1828.

THE END.

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